

A MANUAL OF CLASSICAL PERSIAN PROSODY

with chapters on Urdu, Karakhanidic
and Ottoman prosody

شنیدم که در روز مهیسه ویم
دانش را بنیادهای عشق و کرم
تویند از بدایت نسیم در سخن
بخلق صفت از فریز کارکن
چو تیر سپید آیدت از هزار
بمردم دست از تعنت بدار

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to JAMĀL REZĀĪ
without whose timely encouragement
this work might
not have been completed

CORRIGENDA

to Finn Thiesen

A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody

Page xiv, line 11:	For	discribed	read	described
Page xxii, line 3:	For	جزوه‌ها	read	جزوه‌ها
Page xxv, line 22:	For	طبقه‌بندی	read	طبقه‌بندی
Page 64:	Delete footnote 12.			
Page 183-194 <i>passim</i> :	For	<i>hamza</i>	read	<i>hamzā</i>
Page 185, line 11:	For	call	read	calls

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PREFACE

Students of Classical Persian often take up the subject in the hope that one day they will be able to relax in an armchair and enjoy the great classics at their leisure. In this they never succeed, though not because Classical Persian is a particularly difficult language. On the contrary, in spite of its consonantal script, it must be reckoned as a comparatively easy language. Neither is it because the student has to master a new culture together with the new language. This is a real difficulty, but not insurmountable¹. The reason is that the Classical Persian books were never meant for armchair reading. The very word *book* had quite different connotations in those days. It was not a cheap mass-produced commodity, but a rarity and a luxury. Few could read one, still fewer could afford to possess one. In order to acquire a book one had to copy it oneself or to pay someone a month's wage to copy it. An alternative was to learn its contents wholly or partly by heart. Certainly the reader who paid so dearly for his book would not have been satisfied with a few hours' light entertainment, and might prefer a work which could not be understood without effort. Ideally a literary Classical Persian work should be so beautiful in form and so rich in content that the reader would return to it again and again. Now masterpieces, outstanding both in form and content, are rare, for few indeed are those who have the vision and ideas needed to create a rich content, and these they must combine with formal mastery. However, formal mastery is to some extent a skill which may be acquired. So Classical Persian literature in time developed a tradition for formal perfection and has a surprising number of formal masters. Naturally, poetry was preferred to prose.

The student must approach a Classical Persian literary work with a corresponding attitude. It has to be read again and again, and can be understood only after a prolonged but rewarding study. In order to understand

1 For each word the student has to acquire a new and strange set of connotations, painfully and often through a process of trial and error. One must know that rain is pleasant and sunshine unpleasant. The owl is a symbol of imbecility. The verb *to eat* should automatically conjure up a picture of someone sitting on the floor eating with his fingers. Music is a vice and begging a virtue, and the very idea of God having a son is an abomination beyond words.

and appreciate Classical Persian poetry the student must strive to acquire the knowledge and skills of those learned and fastidious readers for whom the poems were intended. In order to enjoy the formal perfection—certainly no mean enjoyment—he must study Classical Persian rhetoric, poetics and prosody. Moreover a knowledge of these disciplines, especially prosody, can be very helpful in establishing correct readings and arriving at satisfactory interpretations.

There is an obvious need for a general introduction to Classical Persian prosody, and when I began work upon this book eleven years ago my aim was no more than that. My first draft corresponds roughly to the main text of Chapters I-XV. However as work progressed, the scope of the book widened, and in its present form it will, I hope, serve not only as an introduction for students, but also as a reference work for Persian, Urdu and Turkish scholars, containing not only general information on prosody, but also a number of original discoveries in the fields of Classical Persian, Urdu and Turkish prosody.

PART ONE expounds and discusses all the well-known rules of scansion that can be deduced from Classical Persian poetry. In its logical construction it is similar to a text-book of mathematics, in that each rule presupposes a knowledge of the preceding rules, but not of any succeeding rules. As far as possible the examples have been chosen so that they can be scanned with recourse exclusively to rules already given. In each case it has been shown that the rule is not a poetic idiosyncrasy, but has a phonetic explanation. Such explanations (which have not to my knowledge been attempted before) are mostly printed in a smaller fount. Taking the relevant scansion rules as the point of departure I have also shown the phonetic realities underlying the Persian concept of fluency and melodiousness of language². In this research I had the benefit of the statistics compiled by L.P. Elwell-Sutton in his *Persian Metres*. The last chapter in Part One deals with rhyme, which has received a functional treatment independent of the traditional approach. In order that so many unfamiliar rhythms should not divert the attention of the student from the basic mechanisms of scansion, I decided that all the examples for the rules in Part One should be in one and the same rhythm. For further convenience, I wanted the examples to be in a uniform style, as far as possible from a single

2 See Index under *ravānī*.

poem. On account of these self-imposed restrictions Ferdousī's *šāhnāme* became a self-evident choice, and most of the examples come from *šāhnāme*, but for a change the examples used to illustrate the chapter on rhyme are taken from Nezāmī's *eqbāl-nāme*³.

PART TWO is a description of all but the rarest rhythms occurring in Classical Persian poetry⁴. The first chapter in this part of the book teaches the beginner how to ascertain the rhythm of a given Classical Persian poem. In the next chapter the advanced student is taught how to ascertain, by means of the "circles of the prosodists", the rhythm of even a fragment of a poem amounting to only half a line. This use of the "circles of the prosodists" is not my discovery, but I may claim to have rescued it from oblivion, since it has not previously been described in print and is today apparently known only to a very few traditional scholars⁵. The remainder of Part Two describes the several rhythms one by one. The order of presentation is based upon Elwell-Sutton's classification modified here and there for didactic reasons. The rhythms have been illustrated with examples drawn from the whole corpus of Classical Persian poetic literature, including even some lines from recent poems written in the classical tradition. I have tried to choose the examples so that they not only illustrate the rhythms in question, but also give the student a glimpse of the beauty and richness of Persian literature. For each rhythm the traditional classification has been given with an account of the curious and intricate

3 It might surprise the reader that I find it necessary to dwell upon the didactic considerations which led me to choose the examples in Part One from *šāhnāme*. However, I have had occasion to learn that my motives for this choice can be misunderstood. Thus Bo Uta, University of Uppsala, in an evaluation of my manuscript wrote: "The author's basic iranistic training at the University of Tehran often makes itself felt. The native perspective ... seems time and again to lead to a misleading accentuation of the material. This is especially true of the basis for choosing the examples, namely that *šāhnāme* and its metre *motaqāreb* should have a dominating role in Persian poetry. This can be taken as a reflection in the Tehran University syllabus of the "Great Iranian" ideology of the Pahlavi dynasty." (!)

4 Elwell-Sutton's statistics show that the thirty-three rhythms treated in Part Two cover more than 99% of Classical Persian poetic literature. See Elwell-Sutton, pp. 145-160.

5 The student will probably find it difficult to employ this method since he cannot combine his knowledge of the "circles of the prosodists" with the native's instinctive feel for rhythm, but as I have shown in § 166 he can substitute the principles of *ravānī* for his lack of instinct and thus overcome the difficulty. Incidentally this shows that the phonetic qualities of *ravānī* are not only of theoretical interest, but also of practical utility.

mechanisms by which the traditional classifications are arrived at⁶. This part of the work lays no claim to originality. It is intended merely as a convenient presentation of well-known facts and its indebtedness to Elwell-Sutton will be clear to any scholar in the field. Then follows a summary description of the works and genres where the rhythm in question is met with, but this is not intended as a history of the genres. After the description of each rhythm there is a list of the poems in that rhythm that occur in the lyrical works of Saʿdī, Hāfez and Moulavī, and in the great anthology of Z. Safā⁷.

PART THREE shows how Classical Persian prosody was adapted to Urdu, Karakhanidic and Ottoman Turkish. The treatment of Urdu is complete. All the differences between the Persian and the Urdu systems are described and illustrated with examples. These differences were necessitated by corresponding differences in the phonological systems of the two languages. This has not been shown before, and it results in some—as I think—original contributions to our knowledge of the Urdu sound system. Entirely new is my description of the Karakhanidic prosodical system, which has till now defied all attempts at analysis. The chapter on Ottoman prosody is an exposition of the general principles. I would like some day to elaborate my chapter on Ottoman Turkish prosody into a complete description and to add a chapter on Chagatay Turkish prosody. The relationship between Classical Arabic and Classical Persian prosody I have not examined, my knowledge of Arabic being insufficient for this important task. A comparison of the prosodical *and* phonological systems of the two languages could probably settle the controversy as to whether Persian prosody is derived from Arabic prosody or, as I am inclined to think, it

6 But the terms *vatad* and *sabab*, which are considered to be constituent elements of the *rokn* have not been mentioned. They are useful for understanding Arabic prosody, but to my mind superfluous in a work on Persian prosody.

7 For rare rhythms such lists of references are given in Appendix One. These lists may also be used for a different purpose: When trying to identify a (mono-rhyme) quotation of unknown origin one may first ascertain its rhythm, and then check with the help of these lists of references (and the directions given in §264) whether it occurs in any of the said works. It is true that the references cover only a small part—less than 60,000 verses—of the extant Classical Persian lyric poetry, but it is central and oft-quoted. If other scholars would add similar lists of references covering more Classical Persian authors and anthologies this might in time develop into an important tool for identifying verses of unknown authorship.

was only the Arabic terminology that was adapted to a basically native Persian system.

APPENDIX ONE is a reference list of 217 Classical Persian rhythms and 277 variations on them. APPENDIX TWO is a reference list of those spellings which cannot be deduced unambiguously from the transcription used. APPENDIX THREE is a folding table showing the rhythmical arrangement of Moulavī's *dīvān* (as explained in §267). The SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES are amplifications of some paragraphs provoked by criticisms of my manuscript received after the book had gone into press. Finally there is an INDEX by Grethe Thiesen.

The transcription of the vowels is my own invention. It may seem a little complicated, as it has to be in a work dealing with *both* originally long and short *and* metrically lengthened and shortened vowels. Moreover it also shows the Classical Persian system of phonemes as well as the pronunciation of Classical Persian poetry as it is recited today. For works not dealing with prosody I would recommend the following transcription: *a, ɛ, ɔ, e, o, â, i, î, u, û, ei, ou*⁸. I believe that this transcription of the vowels is an improvement upon the existing systems, though it may at first appear to complicate the representation, but I am not satisfied with my transcription of the consonants which distinguishes phonemes all right, but not graphemes. I chose this simplified system of transcribing the consonants thinking that the juxtaposition of the transcription and the original script would make the distinction of graphemes superfluous in the transcription. Were it not too late to alter now, I should have switched over to the system introduced by Elwell-Sutton in his *Persian Metres* (with the addition of the sign *xʷ*). I have noticed that many advanced students of Persian, though quite fluent in reading printed characters, find it difficult to decipher texts written in the national Persian نستعلیق *nastaʿlīq* script. I have therefore had all the Persian examples calligraphed in the national script. Since they are also given in transcription, this should enable the students to accustom themselves to the *nastaʿlīq* script without any special effort. Similarly the Urdu and Ottoman Turkish examples have been calligraphed in typical Indian and Turkish calligraphy.

During my work with the book I made—sometimes by sheer serendipity—a number of minor discoveries having little or no direct relation to prosody.

8 Cf. §§ 13-20.

These have been reported with the utmost brevity in footnotes. I should like to draw attention to footnotes 4 and 5 in § 128, where the date of the Modern Persian vowel shift is fixed⁹.

It goes without saying that this work could not have been carried through without help and support from many quarters. My first thanks go to Professor Jes Asmussen, Copenhagen, who not only recommended me for the fellowship during which I wrote the main part of the book and helped me to procure a grant for its publication, but also as my advisor gave me complete freedom to plan and execute the work. I am deeply indebted to my Persian teachers in Tehran University who inspired me with love for Persian culture and most of all to Professor Jamāl Rezāī, who had the patience to subject my drafts of the first fifteen chapters to a detailed discussion. My friend and fellow-student at Tehran University, J. R. S. Cooper, read through Parts One and Two with me and did his best to change what I had written into English and being himself a Persian scholar made many useful suggestions. After returning to Copenhagen I have had recourse to the indefatigable kindness of Dr. Eric Grinstead for correcting my Danish-coloured English. The book has also benefited from the scholarly advice of Professor Hans Hendriksen, Kåre Thomsen Hansen, Ahmad Tafazzolī and Yann Richard and from the severe, but useful critique of Bo Utas, who wrote an evaluation of the whole work. Also Professor Annemarie Schimmel, Harvard, read through the manuscript and improved upon details of translation and interpretation. Professor D. N. MacKenzie, Göttingen, had the kindness to read the second proofs and point out a number of mistakes. Moreover his keen ear for style has certainly given my book a more scholarly appearance. I regret that I did not solicit his help at an earlier stage.

9 Using the information given in footnote 5 the reader will also be able to arrive at a more satisfactory interpretation of *qazal* no. 2542 in Moulavī's *divān* (*kolliāt e šams*). It seems to say:

O moon, shine on my friend and say: "Friend, *eunuch*, thou art rotting!"

O wind, strike his hair (and say): "O beautiful *eunuch*, thou art rotting!"

Whether thou art here or there, whether thou comest or comest not,

thou art all sugar and sweetmeat. O wonderful sweetness! *Eunuch*, thou art rotting!

etc.

But in fact this *qazal* should be translated as follows:

O moon, shine on my friend and say: "Friend, *I love thee*!"

O wind, strike her hair (and say): "Beauty, *I love thee*!"

etc.

If the pages of the book are pleasing to the eye the credit goes to the calligraphers. I am specially grateful to Professor Ali Alparslan, Istanbul, and K. L. Gupta, Jammu, who offered free service. For the indispensable task of proofreading I have to thank Bent Hunø and Grethe Thiesen. It has been a privilege to cooperate with Dr. Helmut Petzolt, publications manager of Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, and his staff, who have dealt with accents, quantities and strange scripts in an exemplary partnership with Imprimerie Orientaliste, Leuven. During my stay in Iran the Royal Danish Embassy was always hospitable. Ambassador Troels Munk came to my assistance at a critical period during the Iranian revolution and saw that my books and papers found their way home. Last but not least it gives me great pleasure to record my gratitude to the following Iranian and Indian friends for various combinations of suggestions, criticisms and inspiration:

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Søllerød, 4.7.1982

Finn Thiesen

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cf. § 175 and Appendix One

<i>al.</i>	=	<i>aslam</i> (e) ائلم
<i>al-moʕjam</i>	=	Šams e Qeis: <i>al-moʕjam fī maʕāyīr e ašʕār el-ʕajam</i> , ed. Qazvīnī, London 1909.
<i>as.</i>	=	<i>aslam</i> (e) اصلم
<i>b.</i>	=	<i>bahr</i> (e)
B	=	<i>badāyeʕ</i>
ES , Elwell-Sutton	=	L.P. Elwell-Sutton: <i>The Persian Metres</i> , Cambridge 1976.
G I , G II , G III	=	Z. Safā: <i>ganj e soxan I-III</i> , Tehran 1961.
Gibb	=	E.J.W. Gibb: <i>A History of Ottoman Poetry I</i> , London 1900.
<i>h.</i>	=	<i>hazaj</i> (e)
H	=	<i>dīvān e hāfez</i> , ed. Qazvīnī and Qanī, Tehran 1941.
(H ...)	=	<i>hazaliāt</i>
<i>kolliāt e šams</i>	=	Moulavī: <i>kolliāt e šams or dīvān e kabīr</i> , ed. Forūzānfar, Tehran A.H. 1336-1346.
Lazard	=	Gilbert Lazard: <i>Grammaire du persan contemporain</i> , Paris 1957.
<i>m.</i>	=	<i>mojtass</i> (e)
M	=	<i>kolliāt e šams</i> , see above.
<i>mh.</i>	=	<i>mahzūf</i>
MI	=	<i>molammaʕāt</i>
<i>mn.</i>	=	<i>mosamman</i> (e)
<i>mq.</i>	=	<i>maqsūr</i>
Mr	=	<i>marāsī</i>
<i>ms.</i>	=	<i>mosaddas</i> (e)
<i>mt.</i>	=	<i>matvī</i> (ye)
<i>mx.</i>	=	<i>maxbūn</i> (e)
p.v.	=	permitted variation (of)

Q	=	<i>qasā`ed e fārsī</i>
Qq	=	<i>qazaliāt e qadīm</i>
r.	=	<i>ramal (e)</i>
Rypka	=	Jan Rypka: <i>History of Iranian Literature</i> , Dordrecht 1968 / Jan Rypka: <i>Iranische Literaturgeschichte</i> , Leipzig 1959. (For convenience, both English and German translations are cited.)
s.	=	<i>sarīʕ (e)</i>
S	=	<i>kolliāt e saʕdī</i> , ed. Forūqī/Āštiānī, Tehran A.H. 1354.
x.	=	<i>xafīf (e)</i>
X	=	<i>xavātīm</i>

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Qāem-Maqām e Tūpcī's *robāʿī* was copied from a tablet on display in the Museum of Fīn e Kāšān.

In the Appendix to Part One the exact provenance is given for all passages quoted in this part of the book. In Parts Two and Three where textual accuracy is not so much at stake, this procedure has not been deemed necessary.

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PART ONE

THE SYLLABLE

“There neither is nor can be any *essential* difference
between the language of prose and metrical composition”.

William Wordsworth

بنام خداوند جان و خرد کز این برتر اندیشه برنگذرد

I

THE VOWEL SYSTEMS OF CLASSICAL AND MODERN PERSIAN

§1 The basis of Classical Persian prosody is the division of syllables into short and long (and overlong) syllables. In order to perceive the rhythm and appreciate the different metres one must therefore be able to distinguish between long and short syllables.

Let us begin by considering the vowel system of Classical Persian.

§2 Classical Persian had three short vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, five long vowels: *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, and two diphthongs: *ai* and *au*.

By native grammarians *ī* and *ū* are termed *یاء معروف* *yā' e ma'rūf* and *واو معروف* *vāv e ma'rūf* respectively; *ē* and *ō* are called *یاء مجهول* *yā' e majhūl* and *واو مجهول* *vāv e majhūl*. *ī* and *ū* are called *ma'rūf* "known" because they occur in Arabic and thus are *known* to the Arabs. *ē* and *ō* do not occur in Arabic; hence they are *majhūl* "unknown" (to the Arabs).

The so-called "long diphthongs" *āi*, *ūi* etc. are better treated as combinations of long vowels plus consonant: *āy*, *ūy* etc.

§3 In Modern Persian a distinction of vowel quality has taken the place of the Classical Persian distinction of vowel quantity and the number of vowel phonemes has been reduced as shown below:

Classical Persian		Modern Persian
<i>a</i>	>	<i>a</i> [but final <i>a</i> becomes <i>e</i> ; see §16]
<i>i</i>	>	<i>e</i> [but before a vowel <i>i</i> remains; see §93]

u	>	o
ā	>	ā ¹
ī	>	i
ē	>	
ū	>	u
ō	>	
ai	>	ei
au	>	ou

Examples: گلستان *gulistān* > *golestān*

بوستان *bōstān* > *bustān*

اسکندرنامه *iskandarnāma* > *eskandarnāme*

ایران *ērān* > *irān*

Modern Persian شیر *šir* may be either from *šēr* "lion" or *šir* "milk". Similarly, آهو *āhu* may be either from *āhō* "fault" or *āhū* "gazelle".

§4 The Classical Persian pronunciation is shown in F. Steingass: *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1892 (several impressions, still available). Note that for *ē* and *ō* he writes *e* and *o* without macron. Thus, when he writes *rozi umed u him*, we would pronounce it *ruz e omid o him* (روز امید و بیم "The day of hope and fear" i.e. "The Day of Judgement").

Unfortunately Steingass is not too reliable in his transcriptions. More reliable information may be found in Paul Horn: *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893 (reprinted in Hildesheim 1974), and in Fritz Wolff: *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935 (reprinted 1965).

The Modern Persian pronunciation is shown in Junker/Alavi: *Persisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1965, in A.K.S. Lambton: *Persian Vocabulary*, Cambridge 1954, etc.

Curiously enough many Persian scholars have fallen, so to speak, between two stools, and use a system of transcription, which represents the Classical Persian pronunciation, but leaves out *ō* and *ē* (writing *ū* and *ī*), thus making the number of symbols agree with the phonemic structure of Modern Persian (thus E.G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*). This is unfortunate because in the case of the older poets a correct distinction between *ī*, *ū* and *ē*, *ō* may help in detecting spurious verses and in correct interpretation. Cf. §131.

§5 Indo-Persian has preserved the Classical Persian pronunciation of the vowels. Unfortunately, due to the cultural co-operation between Iran and India (and Pakistan) every year a number of young teachers of Persian return home from Iran to teach their compatriots the "correct" Tehrani pronunciation, so that in another generation or two the Classical Persian pronunciation will have been forgotten.

1 It is unnecessary here to take changes like *ān* > *un* into consideration.

In the Persian of Afghanistan, too, *majhūl ō* and *ē* are still distinguished from *mašrūf ū* and *ī*. The Afghan pronunciation is shown in L.N. Kiseleva and V.I. Mikolayčik's *Dari-Russkiy Slovar'*, Moskva 1978.

§6 Although, as we have seen, a distinction of vowel quality has succeeded the Classical Persian distinction of quantity, still, the Persians are taught that *a*, *e* and *o* are کوتاه *kutāh* "short", whereas *ā*, *i* etc. are بلند *boland* "long". Thus the *a* in صبر *sabr* "patience" is called "short", though in fact it is pronounced considerably longer than *i* in می‌کنم *mikonam* "I do", which is in turn called "long".

The result is that even very competent native scholars often have the strangest notions about long and short vowels. Thus our teacher of prosody at the University of Tehran once asked my help in ascertaining the metrical set-up of a poem by Victor Hugo, which he had found impossible to scan. It turned out that he had *a priori* taken all the *e*'s and *o*'s in French to be reckoned short and the *i*'s and *u*'s to be reckoned long, whereas he did not know what to do with the *y*'s, the *eau*'s, etc.

§7 However even in Modern Persian there are still a number of features which distinguish the originally long vowels from the originally short vowels; they have as we shall see preserved some of the characteristics of the Classical Persian long vowels.

The reader is referred to Gilbert Lazard: *Grammaire du persan contemporain*² §7, where the author proposes the terms *stable vowels* for the originally long vowels and *unstable vowels* for the originally short vowels.

§8 As a result of the phonetic changes which have taken place since the canons became fixed, ability to read and recite Persian poetry rhythmically is not something the native Persian is born with. Contrary to what many foreign scholars believe, it requires no mean degree of education and practice.

A good reciter of poetry carefully pronounces *ā*, *i*, and *u* long whereas *a*, *e*, and *o* are pronounced short. The diphthongs *ei* and *ou* are of course pronounced long.

§9 Although a significant amount of free verse (شعر آزاد *še'r e āzād*) is produced in Persia today, there are still many poets who compose rhythmical and rhymed poetry following meticulously the rules to be set forth in the following chapters, and the poetry of the "traditionalists" is by no means inferior to that of the "moderns". To the traditionalists composing poetry according to the rules of bygone ages is nothing artificial, but something very natural as the following incident shows:

2 Paris 1957. This work is hereafter referred to as Lazard.

One of my class-mates in the University of Tehran was very brilliant in all subjects except علم عروض *ʕelm e ʕaruz* "the science of prosody". He could not scan even the simplest verses correctly, though he could recite them rhythmically enough. One day after class he said to me: "I don't see the purpose of scanning all those verses. The rhythm of poetry is something which one should *feel* without having to think about it. I never think of the metres etc. when I compose verses myself". "Do you write poetry?" "Yes, and I have also had several of my poems published in various magazines". "Do you write in the classical forms?" "Yes, of course".

I imagined that his verses must be rather halting, but on examining a number of his poems I found to my surprise not even a single transgression against the rules which he did not know, but had assimilated simply by reading and listening.

This instinctive feel for verse-rhythm is termed طبع شاعری *tabʕ e šāʕeri* "the poetic temperament".

§10 This incident illustrates a truth about prosody which is too often ignored:

The rules of prosody are not invented by the prosodist any more than the rules of grammar are invented by the grammarian. The rules of prosody are all deduced from observations of the language of the poets, and if the poets do follow these rules, it is because the language itself compels them to do so. In other words, the rules of prosody are innate in the language; each and every rule and exception reflects some fact in the language.

§11 The study of prosody is thus important not only because it enables us to understand and appreciate poetry better—this, of course, is its primary value—but also because it reveals facts about the language, which could hardly be obtained from other sources. Thus if the consonant *n* in prosody follows other rules than the rest of the consonants, it is because *n*, as we shall see, in Classical Persian had a phonemic status different from that of the other consonants. Cf. §86.

Moreover the language of poets is often conservative and archaic, so the study of prosody may even reveal facts about previous stages of the language. Thus, if سعدی *Saʕdī* sometimes says ابّا *abā* instead of با *bā* "with" or افتادن *uftādan* instead of افتادن *oftādan* "to fall", the reason for this is *not* that his "poetic licence" allows him to change the words at will whenever the rhythm requires it—he would never say *atā instead of تا *tā* "till" nor *uštōr instead of اشتر *oštōr* "camel"—*abā* and *uftādan* are simply older forms of the words, which have been preserved in the poetic language, cf. Pahlavi *abāg* and *ōftādan*³.

§12 However, most works on prosody do not devote many pages to these aspects. Instead, they preoccupy themselves with the barren and pedantic discipline of giving a different name or number to each possible rhythmic variety. The latest work in the field of Persian prosody,

3 Pahlavi words are everywhere quoted according to D.N. MacKenzie: *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London (O.U.P.) 1971. Reprinted in Tehran at Enteshārāt e Nāmard.

L.P. Elwell-Sutton: *Persian Metres*⁴, is no exception (cf. my review in *Acta Orientalia* 39, pp. 242-257, Copenhagen 1978)⁵.

A huge and complicated terminology has been evolved by the traditional Arabic and Persian prosodists. In this book only the terms commonly met with have been defined. However, in Appendix One the traditional designations of all metres met with in Classical Persian literature have been given. For further information on the traditional terminology readers may refer to Elwell-Sutton.

4 Cambridge 1976. This work is hereafter referred to as Elwell-Sutton.

5 I now think that the criticism in my review is too severe. Though the censures are perhaps justified, yet I feel that I should have dwelt more upon the merits of the book, which are the outcome of original research and patient labour. The present *Introduction* does not make Elwell-Sutton's work superfluous and the advanced student will find *Persian Metres* very useful.

TRANSCRIPTION

§13 As mentioned in §8, good reciters of poetry carefully pronounce *ā*, *i*, and *u* long, whereas *a*, *e*, and *o* are pronounced short. In accordance with this we transcribe as follows:

Vowels prosodically short, i.e. those which are generally not shown in the Arabic script, are represented by *a*, *e*, and *o*. Vowels prosodically long, which are generally indicated in the Arabic script by the letters ا, ي, و, are represented by *ā*, *ī*, and *ū*.

Strictly speaking we should transcribe *ā̇* instead of *ā*, but for typographical considerations the latter has been preferred.

§14 Quite often the metre requires that *e* and *o* should be pronounced long. They are then transcribed *ē* and *ō*.

Similarly *ī* and *ū* are not infrequently to be pronounced short. They are then transcribed by *i* and *u*.

§15 More rarely, the metre requires *a* to be pronounced long; it is then transcribed *a:*. Very rarely *ā* must be pronounced short; it is then transcribed *ā̇*.

The purpose of this little inconsistency of transcription is to keep apart the distinct phonemes *a* and *ā* [*ā̇*].

§16 Classical Persian *a* often becomes Modern Persian *e* notably when final, and in the preposition : *be* < *ba* "to", but also in other cases¹.

It is difficult to decide how far one should follow the popular pronunciation in this respect. Shall we write *moṣtamed* or *moṣtamad* for مستند "trustworthy"? Shall we transcribe معالجه "(medical) treatment" by *moṣāleje*, *moṣālaje*, or *moṣālaja*?

I may have gone rather far in substituting *e* for *a*. To make up for this, *e* has been differentiated by a diacritical point whenever it corresponds to Classical Persian *a*, thus *moṣtameḋ*, *moṣālejė*.

§17 When following an originally labiovelar fricative, Classical Persian *a* has become Modern

1 For these vowel changes refer to Lazard §10 and §20.

Persian *o*, thus خورد *xward* > *xord* “he ate”. This *o* too has been given a diacritical point: *xwɔrd*. (But when required by the rhyme the original *u* has been allowed to stand).

§18 Likewise *ī* and *ū* have been marked with diacritical point whenever they correspond to the Classical Persian *majhūl* vowels *ē* and *ō*.

§19 It would have been quite logical to transcribe similarly the diphthongs by *ei* and *ou*, but this has been considered unnecessary, and they are transcribed simply *ei* and *ou*.

§20 Transcription of the vowels:

		Classical Persian pronunciation	Modern Persian pronunciation
a	=	ا... a	a
a:	=	the same metrically lengthened	
e	=	ی... i	e
ē	=	the same metrically lengthened	
ɛ	=	ا... a	e
ē	=	the same metrically lengthened	
o	=	و... u	o
ō	=	the same metrically lengthened	
ɔ	=	ا... a	o
ā	=	ا... ā	ā
ā	=	the same metrically shortened	
ī	=	ی... ī	i
ī	=	the same metrically shortened	
ī	=	ی... ē	i
ī	=	the same metrically shortened	
ū	=	و... ū	u
u	=	the same metrically shortened	
ū	=	و... ō	u
ū	=	the same metrically shortened	
ei	=	ی... ai	ei
ou	=	و... au	ou
°	=	نیم فتحه nim-fathe, see §§ 35-38.	

Compare the following transcriptions:

بهشت *behešt* “paradise”
گریستن *geristan* “to weep”
بودن *būdan* “to be”

بجا *bejā* “proper”
گریختن *gorīxtan* “to flee”
اندوختن *andūxtan* “to collect”

§21 As all examples are given both in transcription and in the original script, I have not thought it necessary to distinguish in the transcription between the various Arabic s's and z's etc. A glance at the version in the original script will immediately show whether e.g. *z* is intended for *z*, *z̄*, *ż*, or *z̈*. Technical terms, names of authors, etc., are given in the original script only at their first occurrence, but for the convenience of readers with short memory their original spellings are repeated in Appendix Two.

Apart from this, little needs to be said about the transcription of the consonants. I have in the main followed the system used by A.K.S. Lambton in her *Persian Grammar*, Cambridge 1953, but I have not distinguished ق from غ both being represented by *q*: ش has been rendered by *š* and ژ by *ž*. ع is rendered by *ʿ*.

Where همزه *hamze* affects the scansion it is rendered by '. Elsewhere it is ignored. Cf. §§44-53.

Consonants which are not counted in the scansion have been indicated by raised letters. This being the case, Classical Persian *xw* has been allowed to stand, although it is pronounced *x* in modern recitation. Thus خواست *xwāst* "he wanted" (cf. §39) and ماندن *māndan* "to stay" (cf. §83).

For the use of *w* see §55.

§22 The اضافه *ezāfe* and the indefinite *ī* are written separately, thus توتی *tūt ī* "a mulberry", but توتی *tūtī* "parrot"; نامه *nāme* "letter", but نام من *nām e man* "my name".

LONG AND SHORT VOWELS

§23 Consider the following line:

گموتا توانی دروغی با کجای شنیدی دروغی ز ما

magū tā tavānī dorūq ī¹ be mā kojā mī šenīdī dorūq ī¹ ze mā

“Don’t tell, as far as you can, a lie to us! When did you ever hear a lie from us?”

Even someone wholly unacquainted with Persian poetry will notice the rhythm, $\cup - - \cup - - \cup - - \cup - \cup - - \cup - - \cup - - \cup -$, produced by the change of long and short vowels.

§24 A line like the above is called a بیت *beit* (plural ابیات *abyāt*). The *beit* is the basic unit in Persian verse and it always consists of two rhythmically identical (or near identical) halves known as مصراع *mesrāʿ* (plural مصاریع *masārīʿ*). These again are divided up into a number of feet رکن *rokn* (plural ارکان *arkān*).

§25 The traditional terminology of Persian prosody (علم عروض *ʿilm e ʿarūz*) has been borrowed from the Arabs. By a rather far-fetched analogy most of the terms are named after parts of the tent. Thus *beit* means “house” (i.e. “tent”); each of the two flaps of the tent-door is called *mesrāʿ*, and *rokn* means “pillar” (i.e. “the prop of the tent”).

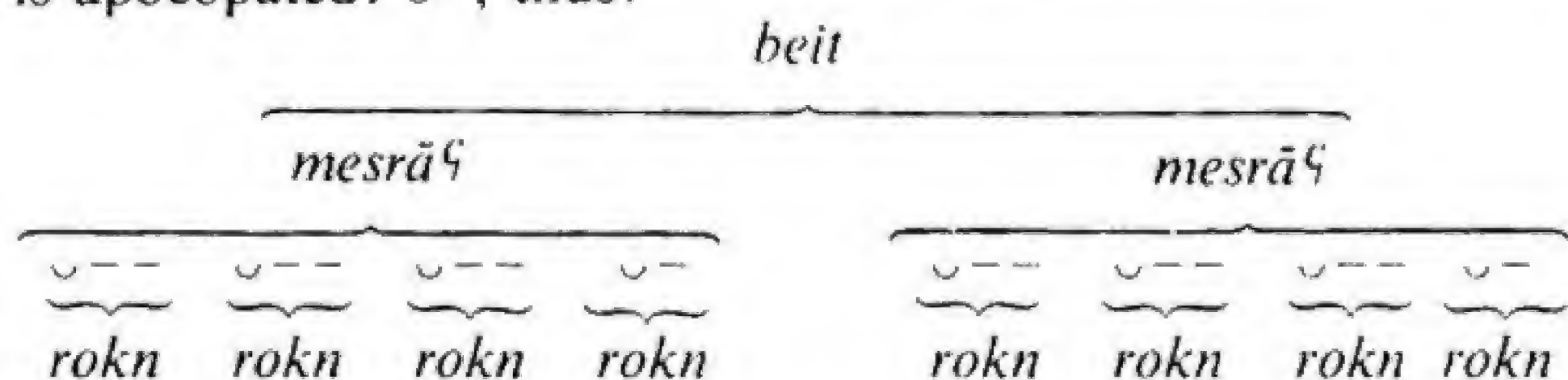
§26 *beit* and *mesrāʿ* are often translated “distich” and “hemistich”, but these translations are not satisfactory², so we shall in the following simply use the traditional terms *beit*, *mesrāʿ*, and *rokn*. (Note the plurals of *beit* and *rokn*: *abyāt* and *arkān*!)

In Persian the Arabic form *mesrāʿ* is often shortened to مصرع *mesraʿ*, and the term نیم بیت *nīm-beit* “half-*beit*” is also used.

1 Pronounce: *dō-rū-qī*.

2 Cf. E.G. Browne: *Literary History of Persia II*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 24-25.

§27 In the above example (§23) each *mesrāʿ* contains four *arkān*³, and each *rokn* consists of one short and two long syllables: ˘—, except the last one which is apocopated: ˘—, thus:



This is probably the rhythm (وزن *vazn*) most frequently met with in Persian poetry, and Ferdousī's *šāhnāme* (شاهنامه فردوسی) and Saʿdī's *būstān* follow this rhythm.

It is known as بحر متقارب *bahr e motaqāreb* "the nearing metre". Since each *beit* comprises eight *arkān* it is called مثنی *mosamman* "eight-fold" (i.e. octameter). Then it is apocopated, in the above instance termed محذوف *mahzūf*. In short, it is the *bahr e motaqāreb e mosamman e mahzūf*⁴, but as this is the commonest variety of *bahr e motaqāreb*, it is generally referred to simply as *bahr e motaqāreb*.

Up to §147 all examples⁵ will be in this metre, so the reader is advised to note carefully its rhythmical structure (*vazn*).

§28 The *rokn* can be defined as a recurring section of a rhythmical pattern.

According to Elwell-Sutton (p. 85) the subdivision of a *mesrāʿ* into *arkān* is "not ... very profitable ... and may even be misleading. In a purely quantitative metre ... the division of a line into 'feet' cannot be more than a convenience, a mnemonic device". However, in the case of a rhythm like ˘— ˘— ˘— ˘—, it appears to me perfectly natural and justified to subdivide it into *arkān* in the way it has been done by the prosodists. Moreover, there is also a linguistic argument in favour of this subdivision. The last syllable of a word more often coincides with the last syllable of a *rokn* than with other syllables of the *rokn*. Thus in the first chapter of *šāhnāme* 65.5%, of the final syllables of the *arkān* coincide with the final syllable of a word, whereas for the other syllables of the *arkān* the percentage is only 48%. (In this analysis the last syllable of the *mesrāʿ* was, of course, not taken into account).

Where internal rhyme occurs, this too seems to favour the subdivision of the *mesrāʿ* into *arkān*, cf. §§137, 149, and 192.

In certain metres, however, the traditional subdivision of the *mesrāʿ* into *arkān* is indeed artificial and misleading. This problem will be dealt with in Part Two.

3 Plural of *rokn*.

4 Cf. Chapter XVII, for *bahr* see especially §176.

5 With seven exceptions to be found in §§71, 82, 100, 111, 112, 126 and 127.

OPEN AND CLOSED SYLLABLES

§ 29 In the *beit* quoted in § 23 the rhythmical effect was produced exclusively by the contrast of long and short vowels. This rhythmical effect is, however, as frequently (if not more frequently) brought about by the contrast of open and closed syllables.

An open syllable consists of *consonant + vowel* (e.g. ز *ze* "from"); a closed syllable consists of *consonant + vowel + consonant* (e.g. من *man* "I").

§ 30 It might be objected that some syllables *do begin with a vowel*. However, according to the native Persian grammarians, even words like آب *āb* "water" and امروز *emrūz* "today" begin with a consonant, namely *hamze* "glottal stop", thus *`āb*, *`emrūz*.

As far as Persian is concerned this view is indeed open to doubt, but in a treatise on prosody it may be conveniently accepted.

§ 31 Now consider the following *mesrāʿ*:

تَهْمَن نِيَامَد بَشَكَرْزَدَشْت

tahamtan

nayāmad

bə laškar

ze dašt

"Tahamtan (i.e. Rostam) did not come to the camp from the plain"¹.

Here only one of the long syllables contains a long vowel: *yā*; elsewhere the length-effect is provided for by the consonants following the short vowel: *ham*, *tan*, *mad*, *laš*, etc.

§ 32 When the Persians want to describe the rhythm of a particular *rokn*, they do so by quoting a derivative of the Arab root *فَعْل faʿala*, which rhythmically corresponds to that *rokn*. Thus *tahamtan* is said to be *بَر وَزْنِ فَعُولِنِ bar vazn e faʿūlon* "in the rhythm of *faʿūlon*", and the whole *mesrāʿ* is *bar vazn e faʿūlon faʿūlon faʿūlon faʿūl*.

¹ This *mesrāʿ* is taken from *šāhnāme*. Henceforth, when nothing else is indicated the quotations are from *šāhnāme*.

The rhythm of each *mesrâʿ* of the *beit* quoted in § 23 would have been described as *fašūlon fašūlon fašūlon fašal*. The difference between *فعول fašūl* and *فعل fašal* will be explained in § 42.

Note that *fašūlon* is written *فعول* as a term of grammar, but *فعولن* as a term of prosody.

§ 33 Another less commonly used way of indicating the rhythm is to use an appropriate combination of the syllables *ta* and *tan*. Thus *تتنتن* or *تتنن ta-tan-tan = fašūlon*.

§ 34 The traditional prosodists also had a method of representing the rhythm graphically, the so-called *حساب عروض hesāb e ʿarūz* “the reckoning of prosody”. A short syllable is represented by *o* and a long one by *|o*. Thus *و* would be rendered *|o|oo*. (Read from right to left!)

o is said to represent a consonant followed by a (short) vowel (*حرف متحرک harf e motaharrek*), whereas *|o* represents a consonant not followed by any vowel (*حرف ساکن harf e sāken*). Thus long syllables—whether made up by the combination *consonant + vowel + consonant* or by the combination *consonant + long vowel*—may be shown by *|o*, since the long vowels are thought to be—as in the Arabic script indeed they are—combinations of the short vowels, *a*, *e*, *o*, and the consonants, *ʾ*, *y*, *v*. This concept of the long vowels at once becomes comprehensible when we consider either the Arab or the Classical Persian pronunciation. Then *ā* equals *aʾ*, *ī* equals *iy*, and *ū* equals *uv*.

According to this system the *mesrâʿ* quoted in § 31 should be represented as

.oo |o|oo |o oo o oo.

Since the last *rokn* in the *mesrâʿ*—*ze dašt*—ends with a double consonant, it is rendered *|oo* instead of *.oo*.

OVERLONG SYLLABLES

§35 A very special feature of Classical Persian prosody is its distinction between بلند *boland* “long” and دراز *derāz* “overlong” syllables.

An overlong syllable is equal to a long syllable + any consonant (except ن *n*, cf. §§83-88). Thus سر *sar* “head” is long, but سرد *sard* “cold” is overlong; ما *mā* “we” is long, but مار *mār* “snake” is overlong. مو *mū* “hair” is long; the doublet موی *mūy* is overlong.

§36 Except at the end of a *mesrāʿ* (cf. §41), an overlong syllable is reckoned equal to the combination of one long and one short syllable. *sard* and *mār* accordingly count as – ˘. In the transcription we indicate this by a raised ˘, thus *sard*[˘], *mār*[˘].

Consider the following four examples:

منم تنگ دل تا شدم تنگ دست

manam tan- g˘del tā šodam tan- g˘dast

“I am sad since I have become poor”.

ببینو مگر بهینیت باز شاد

bə mīnū¹ magar bi- namat bā- z˘ šād

“Perhaps in Heaven I shall happily see you again”.

چرا آمدی باز پیشم بگو

cerā ā- madī bā- z˘ pīšam begū

“Why have you come back to me? say”!

1 Or *mīnū*.

بسر بر همی گشت بدخواه بخت

bə sar bar

hami gaš-

t² badx²ā-

h² baxt

“The ill-wishing fate was imminent”.

§ 37 In traditional Turkish and Indian recitation of Persian poetry, the ² of the overlong syllable is realized as an indistinct vowel, known as *nīm-fatḥe*.

In Persia proper this ² is not pronounced, the very length of the overlong syllables, even without ², being sufficient to convey the rhythm. A glance at the representation below of the four examples quoted in the previous paragraph, will immediately show how the rhythm persists although ² is not pronounced. (The overlong syllables are here represented simply by “overlong strokes”):



A sonograph analysis of recordings of recitations of Classical Persian poetry made by Elwell-Sutton (pp. 193-207) shows an average length of 0.21 sec. for short syllables, 0.33 sec. for long syllables and 0.59 sec. for overlong syllables.

§ 38 Whether this ² was ever pronounced in Persia proper is a moot point. It *may* never have been pronounced at all. However, the following facts seem to indicate that ² was originally pronounced:

a) Persian is not fond of consonant clusters. The appearance of an anaptyctic vowel after overlong syllables is therefore phonetically plausible.

b) The traditional Indian pronunciation of Persian has preserved many archaic features (cf. § 5). The Indo-Persian *nīm-fatḥe* may well be another such archaic feature.

c) Persian loanwords in Hindi and Turkish often seem to preserve the *nīm-fatḥe*: Turkish *Kāmuran* (n.p.) from Persian کامران *kām-rān* (*kām-rān*). Hindi *kārigar* “artisan” from Persian کارگر *kārgar* (*kār-gar*).

d) Even many Modern Persian words seem to preserve the ²: مهربان *mehrabān* = *mehr-bān* “kind”, similarly نردبان *nardebān* or *nardobān* “staircase”.

e) In the colloquial language this apparent preservation of ² is even more common (cf. Lazard § 18). A most illuminating example—not mentioned by Lazard—is پیر مرد *pīr mard* “an old man” as compared with جوان مرد *javān mard* “a generous youth”. In ordinary speech

2 The Classical Persian labio-velar fricative phoneme *x²* (written خو) is always reckoned as a single consonant. In Modern Persian it has become velar and is not distinguished from *x* (خ) in pronunciation.

the former is mostly pronounced *pir e mard* with an irregular *ezāfe*³, whereas the latter is never pronounced **javān e mard*, this being in perfect agreement with the prosodists' rules for the pronunciation of *nīm-fatḥe* (cf. above and §§83-88). Also *آفرین āfarin* "bravo" as compared to *نفرین nefrīn* "fie, hatred" shows agreement with the prosodists' rules. Other examples are *آسمان āsmān* "heaven" and *صبر کن sabr kon* "wait", often pronounced *āsemān* and *sabre kon* (or *sab kon*).

The truth may be that ³ was pronounced in some dialects and not in others. At any rate ³ is *not* pronounced in present-day Persian recitation and in accordance with this a *raised* letter has been chosen for the transcription, the principle being that raised letters indicate sounds not to be pronounced.

§39 When an overlong syllable is followed by yet another unvowelled consonant as in *گوشت gūšt* "meat", *کارد kārḍ* "knife", *فارس fārs* "Persis", *کاشک kāšk* "would that", this last consonant is not reckoned. Such consonants we indicate by raised letters as in the following *mesrā*⁴:

همی خواست کردن ترا خواستار

hamī x^ā-

s^ā kardan

torā x^ā-

s^ātār

"He only wanted to find you".

Here the *t* in *x^āast* is not reckoned. See also the third example in §60 and the example in §233.

In very rare cases the second consonant in a cluster following a short vowel is not reckoned. This is not considered quite correct. Examples hereof may be seen in Moulavī's *divān*, the so-called *kolliāt e šams* or *divān e kabīr*⁴, e.g. line no. 24666 where *panjšambe* "Thursday" must be scanned *pañšambe*, line no. 13089 where *xodāvand* "Master" must be scanned *xodāvan*, and line no. 21970 where *ān ast* must be scanned *ān as*.

§40 While reciting such verses the Persians sometimes leave out the extra consonant, but more often they do pronounce it.

It is noteworthy that in the colloquial language, too, a consonant following an overlong syllable is often not pronounced: *کجاست kojāst* becomes *kojās* "where is"; *راستگو rāstgū* becomes *rāsgū* "telling the truth" (cf. Lazard §17.3). The rule stated in the previous paragraph shows that this feature of colloquial pronunciation is probably a thousand years old. This is corroborated by the fact that the word *راست rāst* "straight, true" has been borrowed by the Turks in the form *rast* as well as *ras*.

3 For a different explanation see L. P. Elwell-Sutton: *Elementary Persian Grammar* (Cambridge 1969), p. 42. Cf. Additional Notes below.

4 Edited in ten volumes by Forūzānfar, Teheran A.H. 1336-1346. Hereafter referred to as *kolliāt e šams*.

§41 The last syllable in a *mesrâʿ* is *anceps*, i.e. indifferent with regard to length; it may be short, long or overlong. Anceps finals are well known in the prosodies of other languages, e.g. Greek and Sanskrit, and the explanation is simple: since the final syllable is followed by a pause, it does not change the general rhythmical effect, whether it is long or short.

When representing graphically a particular rhythm, the final syllable will for convenience always be represented by –, whatever its factual length may be. Cf. §166 end.

§42 The traditional prosodists, however, distinguish between long and overlong finals. This distinction serves no practical purpose, but does make the already prolix terminology even more complicated. Thus if the final *rokn* in the metre with which we are dealing ends with a long syllable (/oo or faʿal, cf. §§32 and 34) it is said to be *mahzûf* “cut off”, but if it ends with an overlong syllable (/oo or faʿûl, cf. §§32 and 34) it is said to be مقصور *maqsûr* “shortened”. The metre of *šâlmâme* must then be described as *bahr e motaqâreh e mosamman e mahzûf ou maqsûr*, cf. §27 (و) ou from Arabic أو ²aw means “or”).

These distinctions we shall ignore. However, the traditional terms indicating overlong finals will be given in Appendix One.

§43 So far, no writers on Persian prosody have recognised that a *mesrâʿ* may end with a short syllable. Instead it is stated that a short syllable whenever occurring at the end of a *mesrâʿ* must be lengthened. This is not very different from saying that the final syllable of the *mesrâʿ* is *anceps*, and since all word final short vowels are capable of metrical lengthening (cf. §62), not much can be objected to this formulation. However, as we shall see (cf. §76), it can be deduced with almost complete certainty from the poems of حافظ Hāfez, that some vowels were actually pronounced short at the end of a *mesrâʿ*. Hence I have preferred to consider the last syllable of the *mesrâʿ* indifferent with regard to length.

HIATUS OR *HAMZE*

§44 When a word beginning with a vowel follows a word ending in a consonant, that vowel is most often pronounced together with the preceding consonant, as in the following *beit*:

میاسای از آموختن یک زمان بدانش میفکن دل اندر گمان

mayāsā-

y az āmū-¹

x^ʔtan yek

zamān

bə dāneš

mayafkan²

del andar³

gamān⁴

“Do not rest a moment from learning; concerning (your) knowledge do not throw your heart into illusion”.

In this way a long syllable becomes short: *del* (–), but *de-landar* (– –); and an overlong syllable loses its prosodic vowel ^ʔ: *mayāsāy^ʔ*, but *mayāsā-yaz*.

Compare the pronunciation of *dūr* and *pīš* with the pronunciation of *būd* in the following *mesrāʔ*:

خرد دور بود آرزو پیش بود

xerad dū-

r^ʔ būd ā-

r^ʔzū pī-

š^ʔ būd

“Reason was far away; desire was present”.

§45 However, when the metre requires, an initial vowel may also be pronounced separated from a preceding consonant by a hiatus. The word in question is then said to commence with *همزه hamze* “glottal stop” (cf. §30), which we transcribe with ^ʔ.

1 Pronounce: *ya-zā-mū* – –.

2 In Classical Persian probably still pronounced *mayafgan* (Pahlavī *ahgandan*). Cf. §122 end.

3 Pronounce: *de-lan-dar* – –.

4 The literary and etymologically correct pronunciation of this word is *gomān*. However since here rhyming with *zamān* the colloquial pronunciation has been preferred. (This *beit* is used a proverb in the form quoted here, but *šāhnāme* has *ze dāneš*, not *bə dāneš*).

Thus in the following *heit*, if we want to preserve the rhythm, the first *az* and *anjām* must be pronounced with *hamze* (*`az*, *`anjām*), whereas *āqāz* must be merged with the preceding word (*āqāz*):

نداند از آغاز انجام را نه از تنگ داند همی نام را

<i>nadānad</i>	<i>`az āqā-</i>	<i>z`anjā-</i>	<i>m`rā</i>
<i>na az⁵ nan-</i>	<i>g`dānad</i>	<i>hami nā-</i>	<i>m`rā</i>

“He cannot tell the end from the beginning (i.e. he cannot foresee the consequences); nor can he tell honour from dishonour”.

§46 The traditional prosodists explain these facts by a rule stating that an initial *hamze* may be elided when the metre so requires.

§47 Hiatus or *hamze* is not allowed after a proclitic or before an enclitic. It is hardly necessary to state that entities like *ezāfe*, the indefinite *i*, the possessive suffixes, and the short forms of the present tense of *būdān* “to be” (*-am*, *-im*, etc.) are never to be separated from the preceding words by *hamze*. Do note, however, that this rule also applies to *است* *ast* (never *`ast*) “is”, and to *و* *o* “and”. Similarly verbal prefixes are always in pronunciation joined directly to the following word. Thus, *بر آورد* “he raised” is always to be read *bar āvord* — —, never *bar `āvord* — — —.

These facts are reflected in the orthography. Thus, we often see e.g. *روزست* *rūzast* for *روز است* *rūz ast* “it is day”, *درآمد* *darāmad* for *در آمد* *dar āmad* “he came out”.

§48 After prepositions *hamze* is allowed, compare:

بر او تاختن کرد ناگاه مرگ

<i>bar ū tā-</i>	<i>x`tan kar-</i>	<i>d`nāgā-</i>	<i>h`marg</i>
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“Death suddenly rushed upon him”.

چون خورشید زد عکس بر آسمان پراکند بر لاثورد ارغوان

<i>co x`qoršī-</i>	<i>d`zad šak-</i>	<i>s`bar `ā-</i>	<i>s`mān</i>
<i>parāgan-</i>	<i>d`bar lā-</i>	<i>ž`vard ar-</i>	<i>qavān</i>

5 This *az* follows after a vowel, so it makes no difference for the rhythm whether we interpret it *`az* or *az*.

“When the sun cast its reflection on the sky (and) spread purple on ultramarine, ...”

In the last example the metre requires a *hamze* between *bar* “on” and *āsmān* “sky”.

§49 The freedom of the poets to insert a *hamze* before an initial vowel whenever the metre requires, corresponds exactly to the freedom of the speaker in ordinary speech to pronounce words with or without *liaison*, that is he may or may not separate individual words by a short pause, a hiatus.

In fluent speech the words are normally not divided by such hiatuses, and they are especially rare after prepositions. In poetry, too, *hamze* rarely occurs after prepositions⁶.

§50 One of the qualities which native critics very much appreciate in poetry is روانی *ravānī* “fluency”. Ferdousī is said to be روان *ravān* “fluent”, and Hāfez is by the consensus of native critics the most *ravān* of all. On the other hand Moulavī⁷ is said to be the opposite of *ravān*, namely سنگین *sangin* “heavy”. (This shortcoming of his is amply made up for by richness and beauty of content).

It is not easy for a foreigner to grasp completely what goes to make a poem *ravān*, but one of the factors certainly is a relative scarcity of *hamze*. In reciting poetry the native Persian may or may not pronounce the *hamze*. In the first case frequent occurrences of *hamze* make a poem sound staccato; in the latter case they make its rhythm less apparent. Hence, the more frequently *hamze* occurs, the less *ravān* and the more *sangin* the poetry becomes.

NOTE. Other factors that go to make a poem more or less *ravān* will be mentioned in §§57, 76, and 154.

§51 Elwell-Sutton has some interesting statistics on the relative frequency of *hamze* in Ferdousī’s *šāhnāme*, in Moulavī’s *masnavi ye mašnavi*, مثنوی معنوی and in the *divān* دیوان of Hāfez⁸. In the material examined by Elwell-Sutton—“selected passages of about 100 bayts”—Moulavī has *hamze* in 70 out of 141 possible cases, whereas Ferdousī has *hamze* in only 38 out of 105 possible cases. This accords well with the theory of *ravānī* set forth in §50. In the case of Hāfez, however, Elwell-Sutton’s figures do not at all agree with my theory. Hāfez is supposed to have *hamze* in no less than 66 out of 140 possible cases. I suspect that this is a misprint⁹, and have therefore made a similar count of a much larger material¹⁰, which gave the following result: Hāfez has *hamze* in only 38 cases out of 334 possible cases. These figures agree well with my theory.

6 In *šāhnāme* occurrences of *hamze* after prepositions are very rare, in *hūstān* they are a little less rare. For an example, see §94.

7 I.e. مولانا جلال الدین رومی Moulānā Jalāl od-Dīn Rūmī, who is in Persia invariably referred to as مولوی Moulavī.

8 Elwell-Sutton p. 214 (cf. p. 210).

9 Elwell-Sutton does not give further particulars, so it is not possible to check his figures.

10 Namely the first *beit* in each poem in his *divān* (495 *ahyāt* in all). I have used the edition of Qazvīnī and Qanī, Teheran 1941.

§52 Though in spoken Persian ع—the throaty gulp of the Arabs—behaves exactly like *hamze*, that is, in most cases it is not pronounced at all—no one can tell any difference in the pronunciation of علم *ʕalam* “flag” and ألم *alam* (*ʕalam*) “grief”—still, in poetry ع, which we transcribe ʕ, must be reckoned. Thus هیچ عزت *hič ʕezat* “no honour” must be scanned *hič ʕezat* — — — (not *hič ezat* — — —)¹¹, بیند عملها *bīnad ʕamalhā* “he sees the actions” must be scanned *bīnad ʕamalhā* — — — — (not *bīnad amalhā* — — — —)¹². See also the second example in §48. Transgressions against this rule scarcely occur¹³.

§53 In the texts a pronoun beginning with a vowel is often written without its initial *alef* when following a preposition ending in a consonant. Thus, از او *az ū* “from him” becomes ازو *azū*, در ایشان *dar išan* “in them” becomes دریشان *darīšan*, ز آن *z ān* “from that” becomes زان *zān* etc.

If the metre requires the pronoun to be pronounced with *hamze*, the *alef* must be written. However, Persian text editors are very inconsistent in this respect, and seem to be guided rather by aesthetic considerations. It is customary in printing Persian poetry to let each *mesrāʕ* occupy exactly the same space. Thus in a *mesrāʕ* containing comparatively few letters the *alef*'s are allowed to stand; in a *mesrāʕ* with many letters they are elided. It even happens that a *mesrāʕ* containing an exceptionally high number of letters is set with a smaller fount!

11 Cf. *būstān* (ed. Rostam ʕAliyof, Teheran 1968), p. 1, line 3.

12 Cf. *ibid.* p. 2, line 13.

13 Elwell-Sutton (p. 219) does quote one instance.

KASRE YE EZĀFE AND VĀV E ʕATF

§54 Fortunately for the Persian versifiers, vowels may in a number of cases be pronounced either short or long according to the requirements of the metre. Most important of these are the enclitic conjunction و “and”¹—the so-called واو عطف *vāv e ʕatf*—and the *ezāfe*², which are basically short (*o*, *e*), but very often prosodically long (*ō*, *ē*).

Thus, in the first two of the five *abyāt* quoted below *e* (*ezāfe*) and *o* “and” are both to be pronounced short. In the third and fourth *beit* they must be pronounced long, while in the last *beit* both pronunciations occur side by side:

ترا روشن آید همی خوی خوش		ولیکن نبیند کس آهوی خوش	
<i>valīken</i> ³	<i>nabīnad</i>	<i>kas āhū</i> ⁴	<i>ye x^uīš</i>
<i>torā rou-</i>	<i>šan</i> ⁵ <i>āvad</i>	<i>hamī xū</i>	<i>ye</i> ⁶ <i>x^uīš</i>

- 1 The ordinary pronunciation of this word is by most Western grammarians stated to be *va* and the pronunciation *o* is said to be restricted to poetry and certain limited cases in prose (See e.g. A.K.S. Lambton: *Persian Grammar* (Cambridge 1953), p. 38, footnote 2). However, in ordinary conversation the pronunciation *o* is almost exclusively used, and the pronunciation *va* only occurs when there is no preceding word to join the enclitic *o* to (cf. Lazard §§191 and 196). Cf. also §59 below.

In Arabic و *wa* “and” is proclitic and written together with the following word. In imitation of this, the enclitic Persian و *o* is often seen written together with the following word.

- 2 Properly کسره اضافه *kasre ye ezāfe* “*e* of joining”. For the sake of simplicity we refer to this simply as *ezāfe*.
- 3 In Arabic expressions like this و is pronounced *wa* (Arabic: ولكن *walākin*). Cf. §145.
- 4 Hereafter *liaison* (*kas āhū*) is not indicated.
- 5 Modern Persian pronunciation of Classical Persian *rūšan* [ro:šan].
- 6 After a vowel *e* (*ē*) becomes *ye* (*yē*). In the present example we may also interpret *xūy e x^uīš* and *āhūy e x^uīš*.

“But no one sees his own fault; your own habit appears splendid to you”.

برو با سواران هشیار سر نگه دار مرکاخ را بام و در

borou bā

savārā-

n e hošyā-

r'sar

negah dā-

r' mar kā-

x' rā bā-

m o dar

“Go with the wary knights, guard the roof and the gate of the palace”.

ز روز گذر کردن اندیشه کن پرستیدن دادگر پیشه کن

ze rūz ē

gozar kar-

dan andī-

šē kon

parasti-

dan ē dā-

d'gar pī-

šē kon

“Think of the day of passing away! Make it your business to serve The Judge (ج: God)”.

همی تاخت اندر فراز و نشیب همی زد بگرز و تیغ و رکیب

hamī tā-

x't andar⁷

farāz ō

nešīb

hamī zad⁸

bē gorz ō

bē tīq ō

rekīb⁹

“He rushed up and down and smote with club and sword, spurring on (his horse)”.

خداوند رای و خداوند شرم سخن گفتن خوب و آوای نرم

xodāvan-

d e rāy¹⁰ ō

xodāvan-

d e šarm

soxan gof-

tan ē xū-

b o āvā

ye narm

“(Daqīqī was) possessor of wisdom and possessor of modesty, eloquence, and a gentle voice”.

§ 55 When و follows any vowel, except *ī*, *ī*, it is pronounced with a *w*-glide, *wo* or *wō*, as in the following *beit*:

7 This might also be scanned *hamī tā- x't andar* (cf. §§ 39 and 45).

8 *zad* is syntactically both to be understood as an independent verb “smote”, and as part of the compound verb *rekīb zad* “spurred”.

9 For *rekāb* by *emalē*, cf. § 145.

10 Properly *ra'y*, but probably pronounced *rāy* in Classical Persian. Saʿdī makes it rhyme with *pāy* (p. 761 in the Forūqī/Āštiānī edition, cf. § 175).

همی خوشتر آید ز دیباورنگ

ترا خوردن مار و حرم پلنگ

torā x"qor-

dan ē mā-

r o carm ē

palang

hamī x"qš-

tar āyad

ze dībā

wo rang

"Do you prefer snake-eating and leopard hide to brocade and venison (lit. mountain-goat)?"

When following *ī*, *ī*, *و* is pronounced with a *y*-glide, *yo* or *yō*. *ī*, *ī*, *ū*, and *ū* may be shortened before *و*. Cf. §§89 and 90.

§56 In the spoken language *e* and *o* are short; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the long forms *ē* and *ō* reflect older pronunciations. Indeed *e* (Classical Persian pronunciation: *i*) goes back to Pahlavī *i*. As for *o* (Classical Persian pronunciation: *u*) the case is not quite clear. It should be noted however that the Pahlavī form, *ud*, constitutes a long syllable.

§57 The concept of *ravānī* "fluency" was noted in §50. Another characteristic of نظم روان *nazm e ravān* "fluent poetry" is the comparative scarcity of *ē* and *ō*. According to Elwell-Sutton short *e* and *o* are approximately one and a half times as common as long *ē* and *ō* in Ferdousī and Moulavī, whereas in Hāfez short *e* is twice as common as long *ē*, and short *o* five times as common as long *ō*¹¹. My own counts yield the following results for Hāfez: In 495 *abyāt* a total number of 842 short *e*, 359 long *ē*, 310 short *o*, 68 long *ō*.

It is clear from *Hāfez* that the long *ē* is less *sangin* "heavy" than the long *ō*. Cf. §§50 and 76.

§58 Prosodically long *ezāfe* (*ē*) is sometimes indicated by a vertical *kasre*, known as کسره ممال *kasre ye momāl* (...), thus in Nicholson's edition of *masnavi ye maṣnavi*. In most texts, of course, *ezāfe* whether long or short is normally not shown at all.

§59 In poetry *و* to be pronounced *va* occurs only at the beginning of a *mesrāʿ* and even in this position *va* is extremely rare.

ودانش نگهبان تو جاودان

نگهبان کنجی تو از دشمنان

negahbā-

n e ganjī

to az doš-

manān

va dāneš

negahbā-

n e tō jā-

vedān

"You are the guardian of a treasure against enemies, and knowledge is your guardian all the time".

بو شکور Bū Šakūr cf. §181.

The language of poetry here agrees with the colloquial language, not with literary prose, where *va* (which is an Arabic loanword) is quite common. Some native scholars are of the opinion that *و* should never be pronounced *va* in poetry: at the beginning of a *mesrāʿ* it should be pronounced *vo* or *o*.

¹¹ Elwell-Sutton p. 213. Cf. also §51 above (with footnotes).

Another example of *va* may be seen in § 65 (second *beit*). Cf. also § 54 (footnote 3) and § 260 (footnote 15).

§ 60 When followed by a vowel و may—if the metre requires—be pronounced *v*. This *v* may occur before any word beginning with a vowel, but it is especially common in the combinations و از *v az* “and from”, و اگر *v agar* or و ار *v ar* “and if”, و اگر نه *v agar na* or و ار نه *v ar na* “and if not”, “else”, “otherwise”. These combinations are generally conceived and written as single words وز *vaz*, وگر *vagar*¹², وور *var*, وگر نه *vagarna*¹², ورنه *varna*¹³.

بیش از فراز آیت وارشیب

bə ganj ō

bə piš ar

fozūnī

farāz ā-

بگنج و فرونی نگیری فریب

nagīrī

yadat v ar

ferīb

nešīb

“Don’t get deceived by riches and greatness, whether you are on your way up or down”.

خسر در بدرگاه او رهنمون

nehāⁿ¹⁴ v ā-

xerad rā

š^hkārā

bə dargā-

نهان و آشکارا درون و برون

darūn ō

h e ū rah-

borūn¹⁵

nomūn¹⁶

“The hidden and the manifest, the interior and the exterior, to the discerning mind (it is all) a guide to His court”.

نظامی Nezāmī

چو جاماسپ دستور ناباکدار

zarīr ē

co jāmā-

gerā^mmā-

s^p19 dastū-

زیر گرانمایه و اسفندیار

yē¹⁷ v esfan-

r e nābā-

diār¹⁸

k^hdār

12 Some analyse *vagar* and *vagarna* as *va-gar(na)*. However the facts stated in § 59 as well as the comparison with *var* and *varna* (which cannot possibly be analysed *va-r(na)*, but must be *v-ar(na)*) make the analysis *v-agar(na)* much more probable.

13 *varna* has been borrowed into Hindi (*varnā* “else, otherwise”, cf. § 67).

14 For the treatment of *n* see § 83.

15 Cf. § 118 end.

16 Cf. § 118 footnote 13.

17 For the treatment of *n* see § 83.

18 Cf. §§ 92 and 93.

19 Cf. § 39.

“The noble Zarīr and Esfandiār, as well as the intrepid vizier, Jāmāsp”.

Cf. §§ 79-81.

§61 When the students in Persian schools scan poetry on the blackboard, they write below the *beit* to be scanned a line called the ملفوظ *malfūz* “pronounced”, in which they indicate—as far as the inadequate Arabic script allows—how the *beit* in question should be scanned. Here *ē* and *ō* are written ی and و respectively, whereas short *o* is indicated with ضمه *zammē* (·.). The *nīm-fatḥē*, too, is indicated by *zammē*.

Hence, while scanning poetry, the Persian pronounces *ē* and *ō* as *i* and *ū*, and *o* becomes *o*, but while reciting poetry this pronunciation is never heard.

The following *beit*

فرو رفت و بر رفت روز نبرد با همی نم خون و بر ماه گرد

forū raf-

t o har raf-

t o rūz ē

nahard

bē māhi

nam ē xū-

n o har mā

h o gard

“Down went and up went on the day of battle: to the fish²⁰ the moisture of blood, and to the moon the dust”.

in the *malfūz* “pronounced” version becomes

فرو رفت ثُبر فُ ثُرُوزی نبرد با همی نَمِخُ نُبر ما هُگرد

forūraf

tobarraf

torūzi

nahard

bemāhi

namixū

nobarmā

hogard

Cf. §§ 85, 91 and 151 (end).

20 On which the earth is supposed to rest.

FINAL SHORT VOWELS

§62 A final short vowel indicated in the Arabic script by *ه* (-e, -e, -a) or by *و* (-o) may be pronounced long (-ē, -ē, -a:¹, -ō) when the metre requires.

The traditional prosodists explain this by a reverse rule stating that final *he* and *vāv* in such words may be elided when the metre so requires.

§63 The lengthening of *e* (*kasrē ye ezāfē*) and *o* (*vāv e ʕatf*) mentioned in §54 may be considered a special instance of the above rule.

§64 Quite frequent is the lengthening of -e, as in the following example where it is twice to be read long (*hamē* and *gereftē*) and once short (*bastē*):

همه روی آهن گرفته برز درفش سیه بسته بر خود بر

hamē rū-

y e āhan

gereftē

bē zar

derafš ē

siah² bas-

tē bar xū-

d³ bar

“The iron all gilt, a black sash wound round the helmet”.

§65 -e and -a—as in *که ke* “who”, “that”, *چه ce* “what”, *سه se* “three”, *نه na* “no”, “not”—are rarely lengthened.

یکی سلتن دیدم و شیر جنگ نه هوش و نه دانش نه رای و نه سنگ

yek ī pī-

l⁴tan dī-

dam ō šī-

r⁵cang

na hūš ō

na dāneš

na rāy³ ō

na sang

“I saw an elephant-bodied and lion-clawed (man, hence I had no longer) neither judgement nor knowledge, neither intelligence nor dignity”.

Here we see no fewer than four occurrences of short -a in the second *mesrāʕ*. In the following example -e is everywhere short:

1 Cf. §15.

2 Cf. §§92 and 93 for the short *i*.

3 Cf. §54 footnote 10.

و دیگر که گیتی ندارد درنگ سرای پنجه چه پهن چه تنگ

va⁴ dīgar⁵ ke gītī nadārad derang
sarāy ē sepanjī ce pahn ō ce tang

“Moreover the world has no permanency. The house of three and five (i.e. the transitory world)⁶, (what does it matter) whether (it be) broad or narrow (i.e. whether you are rich or poor)?”

The rare *-ē* and *-a:* are seen in the following examples:

نہشتن بخسرو بیاموختند دلش را بدانش برافروختند
 نہشتن یکی نہ کہ نزدیک سی چه رومی چه تازی و چه پارسی

nebeštan be xosrou biāmū- x^atand⁷
delaš rā be dāneš bar afrū- x^atand
nebeštan yek ī na: ke nazdī- k e sī
ce rūmī ce tāzī yo⁸ cē pā- r^asī

“They taught the king to write, illuminated his heart with knowledge; (they taught him) not to write one, but close to thirty (scripts), whether Greek, Arabic or Persian”.

ز پیش برفتند ہر سہ ہم شدہ سر پر از کین و دلہا ڈم

ze pīšaš beraftan- d^a har sē be ham
šodē sar por az kī- n o delhā dežam

“Together all three went away from him with (lit. having become) the head full of rancour and the hearts furious”⁹.

4 Cf. §59.

5 *dīgar* goes back to Pahlavi *dudigar* and ځ and ځ are easily confused. It is therefore possible that *va dīgar* here and elsewhere should be emended to *dodīgar*.

6 This is how this expression is understood in Iran today. However, Pahlavi *aspinj* means “hospitality”, so the sense of *sarāy ē sepanjī* must originally have been “guesthouse” (i.e. transitory world).

7 For *heyāmūx^atand*. Cf. §93.

8 Cf. §55 end.

9 In *šāhnāme* this *beit* is the continuation of the last *beit* in §60.

§66 The ending *-e* goes back to Pahlavī *-ag* (preserved in plurals like *بچگان* *bacceḡān* "children", etc.). According to some¹⁰ it was pronounced *-ah* at the time of Ferdousī. This cannot be true: such a pronunciation would make the national epic of the Persians unrhythmical. In the poetical language of the time, however, an archaic pronunciation *-ah* might have coexisted with the ordinary pronunciation *-a*. In this case the forms *gereftē* and *hastē* in §64 must have been pronounced *giriftah* and *hastah* at the time of Ferdousī.

The above explanation is not impossible, but it is far more likely that *-ah* and *-a* never coexisted and that right from the beginning final short vowels were capable of metrical lengthening. Lengthening of final short vowels is well known in Avestan¹¹. In Old Persian, too, final short vowels are invariably written long, but the phonetical interpretation of this is doubtful¹².

§67 As we have seen *-e* (Classical Persian *-a*) is quite frequently lengthened, whereas *-i* (Classical Persian *-i*) is rarely lengthened. In this connection it is noteworthy, that *-e* corresponds to *-ā* (long!), but *-i* to *-ī* (short!) in Persian loanwords in Hindi.

Thus *بچه* *bacce* "child" becomes *baccā*, whereas *تا که* *tā ke* "so that" becomes *tāki*¹³.

§68 *-a* occurs only in the word *na* "no", "not", which as we have seen is rarely lengthened to *na:*. The occurrence of *na:* is made even more rare by the fact that when a long syllable is required many poets prefer the synonym *نی* *nī* (< Pahlavī *nē*).

Thus in a description of the soul *اسدی* *Asadī* says:

نه از جای بیرون نی جایگیر		نه آرا مجوی و نه جنبش پذیر	
<i>na ārā-</i>	<i>majūy ō</i>	<i>na jombeš-</i>	<i>pazir</i>
<i>na az jā-</i>	<i>yā bīrū-</i>	<i>n o nī jā-</i>	<i>yagīr</i>

"(It is) neither seeking rest nor accepting movement, neither outside space nor occupying space".

§69 As a prefix *ن* *nā* is substituted for *نا* *na-* whenever the metre requires a long vowel.

Thus, describing the prophet, Saʿdī says:

کتبخانه چند ملت بشت		یتیمی که ناکرده قرآن درست	
<i>yatīm ī</i>	<i>ke nākar-</i>	<i>de qor'ān</i> ¹⁴	<i>dorost</i>
<i>kotohxā-</i>	<i>ne yē can-</i>	<i>de mellat</i>	<i>bešost</i>

10 See e.g. H.W. Bailey's article *The Persian Language*, p. 177 in *The Legacy of Persia*, Oxford 1953.

11 See A.V. Williams Jackson: *An Avesta Grammar* §§24-26, Stuttgart 1892.

12 See R.G. Kent: *Old Persian*, §36, New Haven, Connecticut 1953.

13 Dr. Jamāl Rezāi informs me, that the *Xorāsānī* dialects show a similar development of *-e* and *-i*.

14 For *-ān* see §83.

“(He was) an orphan who—not having made perfect the reading (و: not having learned to read, being himself illiterate)—washed away the literature of several nations”.

§70 -e is not lengthened before enclitics like the indefinite article *ī*, the enclitic forms of *hūdan*: -am, -ī, *ast*, -īm, -īd, -and, the enclitic forms of the pronouns: -am, -at, -aš, -(e)mān, -(e)tān, -(e)šān, and *ye/yē* (*ezāfe*).

The reason for this is, of course, that in this case -e is no longer final. Hence -e is not lengthened before the plural endings -hā and -gān either. Similarly, the proclitic preposition *be* “to” is never to be scanned long; neither is *ze* “from”.

However, -e in the first member of a compound is capable of lengthening as may be seen in §84 first example (*dānēkaš*).

It should be noticed that in the Classical Persian orthography there is correspondence between indicating and not-indicating -e by the letter *e* on one hand and capability and incapability of lengthening on the other. Thus, خانه *xāne* “house”, بچه *bacce* “child”, نه *na* “no”, چه *ce* “what”, که *ke* “who” etc. sometimes have to be scanned *xānē*, *baccē*, *na*, *cē*, *kē* etc. whereas in خانه‌ها *xānehā* “houses”, بچه‌گان *baccēgān* “children”, به *be* “to”, از *ze* “from”, چرا *cerā* “why” etc. -e and -e are never lengthened.

In the Modern Persian orthography this correspondence no longer exists, *be* “to” is written به, and *xānehā* has become خانه‌ها.

§71 -e is sometimes contracted with *ezāfe* to form a single long syllable which we transcribe *ēē*, as in the following well known lives by دقیق‌ی Daqīqī:

یکی پرینیانی یکی زعفرانی
دگر آهن آب داده یمانی

*bē dō cī-
yēk ī par-
yēk ī zar-
degar*¹⁸ `ā-

*z¹⁵ gīran-
niānī*¹⁵
*r*¹⁶ *e nām ē*
han ē ā-

بدو چینه گیرند مر مملکت را
یکی زر نام ملک برشته

*d¹⁵ mar mam-
yēk ī za¹⁶-
malek bar
b¹⁷dāde_e*
*lakat rā
farānī
nebešte*¹⁷
yamānī

15 Cf. §92.

16 Cf. §112.

17 For the short *e* cf. §41.

18 For *digar*, cf. §118.

“With two things they gain (و: one gains) a kingdom, one silk-blue, one saffron-yellow: one (is) gold with the king’s name inscribed thereon, the other tempered Yemenite steel”.

This contraction is quite common in the poems of Moulavī. Elsewhere *-e_e* is extremely rare. (It occurs in *šāhnāme*, II,244,986 and VI,86,311; Bertels’ edition.)

§72 Similar contractions are heard in colloquial Persian where for *xāne ye mā* “our house” one may hear *xānēmā* etc. In reciting poetry *-e_e* may be similarly pronounced, but traditionally it is pronounced *ei*, and this is preferable, for *-e_e* goes back to Classical Persian *-a_i*, which must have been pronounced as a diphthong *ai*. As mentioned in §3 *ai* yields Modern Persian *ei*. Hence the last *mesrāʿ* in the above example should be pronounced:

degar ʾā- *han* ē ā- *hābādādei* *yamānī*¹⁹

§73 The metre of the last example is slightly different from the metre of *šāhnāme* since the last *rokn* in each *mesrāʿ* is not apocopated. It is *faʿūlon* — — like the other *arkān*, not *faʿal* (or *faʿūl*) — — as in *šāhnāme*. Hence the metre is said to be *سالم sālem* “sound”. The metre is then *bahr e motaqāreb e mosamman e sālem*, generally referred to simply as *bahr e motaqāreb e sālem*. Cf. §27 (and §§32 and 42).

§74 Lengthening of final *-o* in *دو do* “two” and *تو to* “thou” is frequent, except of course before enclitics²⁰.

زمانه بخون تو تشنه شود بر اندام تو موی دشنه شود

zamānē *bə xūn ē* *to tešnē* *šavad*
bar andā- *m e tō mū-* *yā dešnē* *šavad*

19 Hubert Darke’s article *A Persian Prosodical Problem* (Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies XIX, 1981, pp. 151-157) quotes more than twenty examples of *e_e* from Moulavī as well as a few from Nāser Xosrou, Xāqānī and others and gives a detailed and thorough discussion of the problem, but I cannot agree with the author’s conclusion “that in this single instance Classical Persian prosody allowed two light (short) syllables to take the place of one heavy (long) one”, which would mean that we should scan *degar ʾāhan ē ābādādei ye yamānī* — — — — — against the rules given in §§150 and 152. (Hubert Darke also quotes some rare examples of *e_e* and *e_o*. Cf. Additional Notes below.)

20 Before enclitics *و* may be omitted *ترا* or *تورا torā* “thee”, *کار تو است*, *کار توست* or *کار تست* *kār e to st* “it is your task”. Cf. §§70 and 99.

“Fate becomes thirsty for your blood; to your body (even) a hair becomes a dagger”.

In this *beit* both *to* and *tō* occur. An example of *dō* was seen in §71, and *do* occurs in the following *beit*:

دو شکر بهم اندر آویختند تو گفتی بهم اندر آمیختند

<i>do laškar</i>	<i>bə ham `an-</i>	<i>dar āvī-</i>	<i>xʷtand</i>
<i>to gofti</i>	<i>bə ham `an-</i>	<i>dar āmī-</i>	<i>xʷtand</i>

“The two armies came to grips with one another; you would say, they were mixed up completely”.

§75 Lengthening of *چو* *co* “as” is extremely rare, the poets preferring the synonym *چون* *cūn*.

یکی کا و دیدم چو خرم بهار سراپای نیرنگ و رنگ و نگار

<i>yek ī gā-</i>	<i>vʷ didam</i>	<i>co xorram</i>	<i>bahār</i>
<i>sarāpā-</i>	<i>yʷ neiran-</i>	<i>g o rang ō</i>	<i>negār</i>

“I saw a cow like the delightful spring: from head to foot a miracle and grace and beauty”.

This example shows the ordinary value of *co*. The following *beit* contains one of the extremely rare occurrences of *cō*:

جهان سرسبز چو فسان است و بس نماند بد و نیک بر هیچ کس

<i>jahāⁿ²¹ sar</i>	<i>bə sar cō</i>	<i>fasān as-</i>	<i>l o bas</i>
<i>namānad</i>	<i>bad ō nī-</i>	<i>kʷ bar hī-</i>	<i>cʷ kas</i>

“From one end to the other the world is like a fairy tale and that’s all. Good and bad have permanency for no one”.

§76 It is characteristic of *nazm e ravān* “fluent poetry” that lengthening of final short vowels is scarce. According to Elwell-Sutton (p. 213) *-o* occurs approximately one and a half times as often as *-ō* in Ferdousī and Moulavī, *-ō* being slightly more frequent in the latter. In

21 Cf. §83.

Hāfez *-o* occurs five times as often as *-ō*. *-e*²² is eight times as frequent as *-ē* in Moulavī and twenty-one times as frequent in Ferdousī. In Hāfez *-ē* does not occur at all in the material examined by Elwell-Sutton, but his material is too scanty²³, and *-ē* does occur in Hāfez, too. My own counts yielded the following results for Hāfez: In 495 *abyāt* a total number of 327 short *-e*, 10 long *-ē*, 305 short *-e*, 0 long *-ē*, 310 short *-o*, 68 long *-ō*.

It is seen that *-ē* is very rare in Hāfez and that *-ē* does not occur at all. At the end of a *mesrāʿ*, however, *-e* and *-e* (to be scanned *-ē* and *-ē*) are quite common. This is a very strong argument in favour of my view, that the final syllable of a *mesrāʿ* is anceps, i.e. indifferent with regard to length. (Cf. §§41-43). It is difficult to believe that Hāfez, being so reluctant to lengthen *-e* elsewhere, should readily lengthen it at the end of a *mesrāʿ* - - - not to speak of *-e*!

On the basis of the facts stated in this paragraph and in §§57 and 71, we may arrange the modifications of final short vowels in order of increasing سنگینی *sangini* "heaviness": First comes *ē* (*ezāfe*) as the least *sangin*; it is followed by *ō* and *-ō*; then comes *-ē* followed by *-ē* and *-a*, and finally as the most *sangin* "heavy" comes *-e*.

§77 Before *ast* "is" a final *-e* may disappear completely. In this case the *alef* is generally not written and the *he* indicating *-e* is often omitted, too. Thus, *toubē* "repentance" + *ast* when pronounced *toubast* may be written in three ways: توبست or توبهست, توبه است.

نهم باب توبه است و راه صواب دهم در مناجات و ختم کتاب

nohom bā-
dahom dar

b e toubas-
monājā-

t o rāh ē
t o xatm ē

savāb
ketāb

"The ninth is the chapter of repentance and the way of righteousness. The tenth chapter (contains) prayers and the conclusion of the book". Saʿdī

In the following example *māye* "amount" is contracted with *ast* to *māyast*.

بزرگان کدامند و دستور کیت چه مایه ایشان گنج و گنجور کیت

*bozorgā*²⁴
ce māyas-

kodāman-
*tešā*²⁴ *gan-*

d o dastū-
j o ganjū-

r^a kīst
r^a kīst

"Who are the nobles and who is the vizier? What is the amount of their treasure and who is the treasurer"?

22 Including *-e* and *-a*, which Elwell-Sutton does not distinguish from *-e*.

23 Cf. §51 (with footnotes).

24 Cf. §83.

The disappearance of *-e* before *ast* is especially common in the perfect tense. Here the poetic language agrees with the colloquial language, where *karde-e* (< *ast*) is contracted to *karde* "he has done". Cf. Lazard §23,6.

همی گفت اگر بر سرم کردگار
نشته است مردن بد روزگار

hami gof-
nebeštas-

t agar bar
t^o mordan

saram ker-
be bad rū-

degār
zegār

"He said: 'If the Creator has decreed, that I should die in ill fortune...'"

§78 This is the way it appears in Modern Persian. From the viewpoint of Classical Persian, however, this is just another instance of *ast* being reduced to *st* after a vowel (Cf. §99). Thus, *āmadast* "he has come" should really be analysed *āmada-st*. When Classical Persian *āmada* became *āmade*, *āmadast* remained unchanged since *a* here was not final. (Cf. Lazard §20,2).

On the basis of *āmadast* other persons were formed: *āmadastam*, *āmadasti* etc. (Cf. also the fourth example in §79):

ز شهری بداد آمدستیم دور

ze šahr ī

be dād ā-

madasti-

m^o dūr

"We have come from a town far away to (obtain) justice".

In these forms *he* and *alef* are never written.

§79 In §60 it was mentioned that *o* before a vowel may be pronounced *v*. In a similar way *ke* "that" and *ze* "from" often become *k* and *z* when followed by a vowel. The initial *alef* of the following word may be left out in writing and the *he* of *ke* always disappears. Thus *k ū* "that he" may be written *کو* or *کاو*. In this book the latter has been preferred. Cf. §53.

Examples:

مگر ز او ببینی یکی نامدار
کجا نوکند نام اسپندیار

magar z ū

bebini

yek ī nā-

m^odār

kojā nou

konad nā-

m e espan-

diār²⁵

"Perhaps you will see of him (و: see him become) an illustrious man, who will rejuvenate the name of Espandiār".

25 Cf. §§92 and 93. (Bertels' edition has *esfandiār*.)

زبیشه ببرد مرا ناگهان گیرنده ز ایران و از خان مان

ze bišē bebordam torā nā- gahān
gorīzan- de z īrā- n o az xā- n o mān

“From the forest I carried you away in sudden flight from Iran and from home”.

که هرگاه و نبید جوانی چشید بگیتی جز از خوشی تن را ندید

ke har k ū nabīd ē javānī cašīd
bē gītī joz az x^oī- š^otan rā nadīd

“For whoever tasted the wine of youth did not see in the world but himself”.

بده داد من گام دستم روان همی نالم از تو برنج روان

bedeh dā- d e man k ā- madastam davān
hamī nā- lam az tō bē ranj ē ravān

“Give justice to me, who have come running. On account of you I wail with the anguish of (my) soul”.

دیگر کت ز دار مسیحا سخن بیاد آمد از روزگار کهن

degar k-at²⁶ ze dār ē masihā soxan
bē yād ā- mad az rū- z^ogār ē kohan

“Further, when the tale of the Cross of Christ from olden times came to your mind ...”.

§80 In rare cases *bē* “to” and *na* “not” as well as the verbal prefixes *na-* and *be-* may also lose their vowel before a following vowel:

باموی شکرگی ساختن شب و روز ناسودن از تاختن

bē āmū- y^o laškar- gah ī sā- x^otan
šab ō rū- z^o n-āsū- dan az tā- x^otan

26 May also be analysed and pronounced *ke-t*, cf. §101.

“To make a camp at Oxus, to have no rest day and night from assault”.

سیاوش نیم ناز پریرادگان از ایرانم از تخم آزادگان

*siāvaš*²⁷

nayam n az

parizā-

dēgān

az īrā-

nam az tox-

m e āzā-

dēgān

“I am not Siāvaš, nor am I a son of the fairies. I am from Iran, a scion of the free”.

هرآن کا و بدان کردش بازدا مرا و را از آن باره باندازدا

*har ā*²⁸ *k ū*

*bēd ā*²⁸ *gor-*

d'koš yā-

zadā

mar ū rā

*az ā*²⁸ *bā-*

re bandā-

*zadā*²⁹

“Whoever attacks that killer of warriors (and) throws him (down) from that steed, ...”.

بیادسیه دیو باترس و پاک همی با سمان برپراکند خاک

*biāmad*³⁰

*siah*³⁰ *dī-*

v' bā tar-

s o bāk

hamī b ā-

*s'mā*²⁸ *bar*

parāgan-

d' xāk

“The black demon came with fear and fright. He kept throwing soil at the sky”.

§81 These contractions are not common in colloquial Modern Persian outside set phrases like زیرا *zīrā* “because”³¹, *v agar na* “else” and *das(t)hāb* for دست باب *dast be āh* “hand-washing”, “going to the toilet”. (but cf. the comment to *bandāzadā* above).

However the use of such contractions in the poetical language makes it probable that they were common in the colloquial language at the time of Ferdousi.

§82 آنکه *ānke*, اینکه *inke* “he who”, آنچه *ānce*, اینکه *ince* “that which”, and هرچه *harce* “all that” etc. may when the metre requires become آنک

27 Cf. §§92 and 93.

28 Cf. §83.

29 To be analysed *b-andāzad-ā* (for *be-y-andāzad-ā*); may also be analysed and pronounced *be-ndāzad-ā*. Both forms are heard in modern colloquial pronunciation. Cf. Lazard §23,7.

30 Cf. §§92 and 93.

31 Cf. §86b.

ānk, اینک *ink*, آنچه *ānc*, اینچ *inc*, and هرچ *harc* etc. These forms, which are also found in prose, may even occur at the end of a *mesrā*.

هرآنچ از گل آمد چو شناختند سبک خشت را کالبد ساختند

har āⁿc²⁸ az

gel āmad

co bešnā-

x^ʔland³²

sabok xeš-

t^rā kā-

l^hod sā-

x^ʔland

“When they realised all that which came from (و: all that could be made of) mud, they quickly made a mould for mud-bricks”.

تو از دریا جدائی و عجب آنک ز تو یک لحظه این دریا جدا نیست

to az daryā

jodāi yō

ʕajab ānk

ze tō yek lah-

ze īⁿ28 daryā

jodā nīst

“You are separate from the ocean, but (lit. and) strange (is) it (lit. that) that this ocean is not one moment separate from you”.

سنائی *Sanā ī*

The metre of the last example (— — — — — — — — — —) is described in §194.

32 The form *bešnāxtand* for *bešenāxtand* preserves an older pronunciation. Cf. Pahlavī *šnāxtan* “to know” and §§102 and 106.

NASALIZATION

§83 The letter ن when following a long vowel and preceding a consonant does not affect the metre. In other words جان میدهد *jān mīdehad* "He gives (his) soul" is scanned like جا میدهد *jā mīdehad* "He gives place" — — —, not like جام میدهد *jām mīdehad* "He gives the cup" — — —. Whenever ن does not affect the metre, we transcribe it " (*jā" mīdehad*). Thus:

بیاموشتان رشتن و تافتن تبار اندرون پود را بافتن

biāmū-

x'ešā"¹ reš-

tan ō tā-

f'tan

be tār an-

darū" pū-

d' rā bā-

f'tan

"He taught them to spin and twist, to weave the woof into the warp".

§84 If ن after a long vowel and before a consonant appears to affect the metre we may be sure that it is to be followed by an *ezāfe* as the second *jān* in the following example:

میازار موری که دانه کش است که جان دارد و جان شیرین خوش است

mayāzā-

r' mūr ī

ke dānē-

kaš² ast

ke jā" dā-

rad ō jā-

n e šīrī"

x"āš ast

"Don't molest the ant who pulls a grain (lit. who is a grain-puller), for he has a soul (or life) and the sweet soul is precious".

In the following *beit* only the correct scansion can decide who is cursing whom (Zahhāk is secretly watching Fereidūn and Šahrnāz):

1 For *heyāmū.x'tešā"*, cf. §93.

2 Cf. §70.

دورخساره روز و دوز نفس چوب گشاده بنفرین ضحاک لب

do roxsā-
gošādē

re rūz ō
be nefrī-

do zolfaš
n e zahhā-

co šab
k' lab

“(Her) two cheeks (bright like the) day, and (her) two tresses (black like the) night, (with her) mouth (lit. lip) opened in cursing Zakhāk”.

The reading *gošādē be nefrī' zahhāk' lab* would give as good a meaning —“(and seeing them) Zakhāk (had his) mouth opened with cursing”—but the metre clearly shows the first interpretation to be the correct one.

However in some rare cases ن does affect the scansion even when standing between long vowel and consonant. In *šāhnāme* it happens about once in every 160 *abyāt*.

شاهی براو آفرین خواندند ورا شاه ایران زمین خواندند

be šāhī

bar ū ā-

farī' x'ā-

n'dand

va³ rā šā-

h e īrā'-

zamī' x'ā-

n'dand

“They hailed him as king; they called him king of the land of Iran”.

§85 The *malfūz* “pronounced” version (see §61) of the *beit* quoted in §83 would read as follows:

بیامو خارش تنوتا فتن تبارن دروپو درابا فتن

heyāmū

xešāreš

tanūtā

fotan

betāran

darūpū

dorāhā

fotan

It will be seen that the ن is left out completely. However, while reciting such verses, the Persians always do pronounce the *n*.

According to Elwell-Sutton “this *n* is pronounced as a distinct consonant, though without in general increasing the length of the syllable as much as a full extra consonant would do⁴”.

Working on Elwell-Sutton's figures I have found the average length of long vowel + *n* to be 0.37 sec.⁵. This should be compared with the figures 0.33 for long syllables and 0.59 for overlong syllables. Cf. §37 end.

3 Short form of وی *vei* (Classical Persian *vai*), cf. §118 end.

4 Elwell-Sutton, p. 214.

5 Ibid. The surprising figure 63 for *Bālyūzī's* -u:n is wrong. I checked with Elwell-Sutton's material (p. 199-205) and found the correct figure to be 49. The other figures which look reasonable enough I have not checked. Cf. Additional Notes below.

The reason why *n* does not increase the length of the syllable as much as other consonants do is that the long vowels are shortened before *n* in traditional recitation. The above *beit* might therefore be transcribed:

<i>biāmū-</i>	<i>xtešān reš-</i>	<i>tan ō tā-</i>	<i>fatan</i>
<i>be tār an-</i>	<i>darun pū-</i>	<i>da rā hā-</i>	<i>fatan</i>

writing *-ešān* for *-ešān* and *andarun* for *andarūn*. However, I do not believe this to be the Classical Persian pronunciation and have therefore not adopted this transcription.

§86 In Classical Persian *n* following a long vowel and preceding a consonant was probably realized as a suprasegmental feature, a nasalization of the preceding vowel. The Classical Persian pronunciation of the second *mesrūf* of the first example in §84 would then be

<i>ki jā dā-</i>	<i>rad ū jā-</i>	<i>n i širī</i>	<i>xwāš ast</i>
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My transcription *jān*, *širīn* etc. is a compromise between Classical Persian and Modern Persian pronunciation.

There are the following arguments for supposing that *n* in the said position was realized as a nasalization of the preceding long vowel:

a) The fact that the prosodists do not reckon the ن. Had ن been pronounced as a distinct consonant and the preceding vowel been shortened—as in present day recitation—we should have expected the prosodists to reckon the ن and instead not to reckon the preceding ي, و, ا.

b) Words like *zīrā* “because” where *n* has disappeared. Classical Persian **zīrā* for *az īn rā* (or perhaps from Pahlavī *az ēd rā*, which ought, however, to result in **zīra*).

c) Turkish loanwords where *n* has disappeared, e.g. *cömerd* “generous” corresponding to جوان مرد *javān mard* “generous youth”. Classical Persian *javā mard* and *juvā mard*. The latter must be the source of the Turkish word.

d) Indo-Persian pronunciation which preserves the nasalized vowels.

e) Most important of all, the numerous Persian loanwords in Urdu and Hindi which have nasalized vowels. Thus Hindi *māḍā* “tired” from Persian مانده *mānde*. It is important to notice that there is nothing in the phonetic system of Hindi to prevent a form like **māḍā*. “He acknowledges” is always *māntā hai*, never **mātā hai*; “thorn” is always *kāṭā*, never **kāṇā*. Hence when the Indians pronounce *māḍā*, not **māḍā*, the reason for this must be sought in Persian itself.

For another strong argument for nasalized vowels see §100!

One cannot help asking whether the fact that *n* is left unwritten before consonants in the cuneiform inscriptions of Old Persian has a similar explanation⁶.

§87 In the word زینهار *zīnhār* (*zīnahār*?) “beware, protection” the *n* is always reckoned in the metre:

6 Cf. R.G. Kent: *Old Persian*, §39, New Haven, Connecticut 1953. Dr. Jamāl Rezāi informs me that the xorāsānī dialects, too, show nasalized long vowels, thus *nō* “bread” and *jō* “young”.

که گزینی اندر استا و زند فرستاده را زینهار از گزند

ke gar nī- s'tī an- dar astā wo zand
*ferestā- də rā zī- n'hār az gozand*⁷

“For had there not been according to Zend and Avesta immunity (lit. protection against harm) for the envoy, ...”.

If the metre requires no short syllable, the form زنه‌ار *zenhār* is used:

یکی را بجان داد زنه‌ار و گفت نگر تا بیاری سراندر نهفت

yek ī rā bə jā" dā- d' zenhā- r o goft
*negar tā biārī*⁸ sar andar nehofī

“He spared the life of one and said, see that you bring your head in concealment (و: that you get away and don't show yourself)”.

Before the suffix *-var* ن sometimes has to be reckoned in the metre. Thus, a word like جانور *jānvar*, which is ordinarily scanned *jā"var* —, sometimes has to be scanned *jān'var* — ˊ — (or perhaps rather *jānavar*, cf. the synonym جاناور *jānāvar* and §118).

بجانی کاز او جانور شد حیات بجانداوری کار دار غم نجات

bə jān ī k az ū jā- n'var šod hayāt
bə jā"dā- var ī k ā- rad az qam najāt

“(I swear) by the soul by which life has become alive, (and I swear) by the Redeemer of souls who brings liberation from grief”. Nezāmī

The word چون “how, why; as”—always scanned as one long syllable—is read *con* as well as *cū"*. Before a vowel it is *cūn*.

§88 After a diphthong and before a consonant ن does affect the metre, but the case is a rare one. There is not a single instance in *šāhnāme*. An example is seen in §257 first *beit*.

⁷ The modern pronunciation of this word is *gazand*.

⁸ *biārī* for *beyārī*, cf. §93.

FINAL LONG VOWELS

§89 With the exception of *ā*, all long vowels and diphthongs may be shortened before vowels including *ezāfe*.

Shortening of *ū* (and *ī*) is rare.

یکی جادو آمد بدیناوری بایران بدعوی پیغمبری

yek ī jā-

du āmad

bē dīnā-

varī

bē īrā"

bē dašvā

ye peiqam-

barī

"A sorcerer has come with a (new) religion to Iran claiming prophethood".

Of a similar nature is the shortening of *ū* (and *ī*) before suffixes beginning with a vowel:

هنر خویش جادوئی ارجمند نهان راستی آشکاراگزند

honar x"ā-

r" šod jā-

duī ar-

j"mand

nehā" rā-

s"tī ā-

š"kā rā

*gazand*¹

"Skill (or virtue) became despised, witchcraft appreciated, truth (or justice) hidden, mischief (or injustice) open".

§90 Short *i* (or *ī*) and long *ī* (or *ī*) appear to be equally common before vowels, whether these vowels belong to distinct words or to enclitics. In the previous paragraph there were two instances of long *-ī* before vowel (*jāduī* and *rās"tī*); in the following example *-ī* has been shortened.

پس آگاهی آمد ز فتح پسر بادر که فرزندان شد تاجور

pas āgā-

hi āmad

ze farrox

pesar

bē mādar

ke farzan-

d" šod tā-

j"var

1 Classical pronunciation *gozand*

“Then news came from the illustrious son to (his) mother, that (her) child had become king (lit. crown-wearing)”.

The following examples show long and short values before enclitics and in proclitics.

زمانی دہ تخت و تاج و کلاه زمانی غم و خواری و بند و چاہ

zamān ī dehad tax- t o tāj ō kolāh
zamān ī qam ō x^aā- ri yō² ban- d o cāh

“At one time it (o: the changing fortune) gives throne and crown and tiara, at another time sorrow and distress and bond and dungeon”.

براد و سختی و ناکام رست بدان رستن زار باید گریست

bezād ō bē saxtī yo³ nākā- m^a zīst
bēd āⁿ zī- s^atan zā- r^a bāyad gerīst

“He was born and lived in hardship and disappointed. One ought to weep bitterly over that life”.

تو را بود باید همی پیشرو که من رفتنم تو سالار نو

to rā bū- d^a bāyad hamī pī- š^arou
ke man raf- tanīam to sālā- r e nou

“You must be the general, for I am (soon) to pass away, (and) you (will then be) the new ruler”.

زمانہ بی اندوہ گشت از بدی گرفتند ہر کس رہ از بدی

zamānē bīandū- h^a gašt az badī
gereftan- d^a har kas rah ē ī- zadī

“The age became unvexed by evil. Every one took the divine road (of righteousness)”.

2 Cf. § 55.

3 Cf. § 55.

بجندل چنین گفت شاه یمن که بی آفرینت مبادا دهن

bə jandal

conī" gof-

t^ə šāh ē

yaman

ke bīā-

farīnat

mabādā

dahan

“Thus spake the king of Yemen to Jandal, (that) ‘may your mouth never be inauspicious’”.

The following example is taken from Nezāmī.

پس از آفرین آفریننده را که بینائی او داد بیننده را
یکی و بدو هر یکی را نیاز یکایک همه خلق را کارساز

pas az 'ā-

farīn ā-

farīnan-

də rā⁴

ke bīnā-

i ū dā-

d^ə bīnan-

də rā

yek ī yō⁵

bəd ū har

yek ī rā

niāz⁶

yekāyek

hamē xal-

q^ə rā kā-

r^əsāz

“After praising the Creator, He who gave those who see (their) sight, (who is) One and everyone in need of Him, the Helper of all creation one by one ...”.

§91 To the traditional grammarians *i* is a sort of diphtong consisting of *e* (Classical Persian *i*) + *y* (cf. §34). The *malfūz* “pronounced” version of the first example in §90 is therefore

پساگا هیامد ز فرخ پسر بادر کفرزن دُشتا جور

pasāgā heyāmad zefarrox⁷ pesar bəmādar kefarzan došodtā jovar

To them, this is in no way different from the example quoted in §44 (*del andar* ---) and requires no special rule. In both cases *hamze* is said to be elided (*āgāhey āmad* becoming *āgāhey āmad*, Cf. §§44-46).

But a long *i* before an enclitic is, seen from the viewpoint of the traditional grammarians, an irregularity since an enclitic cannot possibly begin with *hamze* (cf. §47). In this case *ی* is

4 May also be scanned *pas az 'ā- farīn 'ā- farīnan- də rā*

5 Cf. §55.

6 Cf. §93.

7 Note that the *ز* in the *malfūz* version is written در.

said to be doubled for the sake of the metre, and in the texts this is often shown by a تشدید *tašdid* (•):

براد و سختی و ناکام رست

§92 Words with an internal *i* before a vowel like میان *miān* “middle”, سیاه *siāh* “black” may conveniently be considered a special case of the above rule, but it should be noticed that in such words the *i* is never long. Of this we have already seen several examples: §64, §71, §79 first example, §80 second and fourth example.

§93 From the point of view of Classical Persian the vowel *i* in *miān* and *siāh* is different from the *i* of e.g. *bim* “fear” and سیم *sim* “silver”, and identical with the *e* in گل *gel* “clay” and بهشت *behešt* “heaven” (Classical Persian *gil* and *bihišt*). *miān* and *siāh* go back to Classical Persian *miyān* and *siyāh*. That they have not become **meyān* and **seyāh* in Modern Persian, as one might have expected (cf. §3), is due to a special sound law to the effect that Classical Persian *-iy-* becomes Modern Persian *-i-* (not **-ey-*). Hence also the verbal prefix *be-* takes the form *bi-* in words like بیفتم *bioftam* “that I fall” (Classical Persian *biyuftam*), بیا *hiā* (pronounce *hiā*) “come”! (Classical Persian *hiyā*), بیاری *hiārī* “that you bring” (Classical Persian *hiyārī*), بیایم *hiābim* “let us get” (Classical Persian *hiyābim*) etc., but owing to the pressure of analogy *beyoftam*, *beyā*, *beyārī* and especially *beyābim* or *hiyābim* are also heard. Cf. Lazard §21, 1.

NOTE: This sound law does not apply to initial Classical Persian *iy-*. ایالت “state” is not **iālat*, but *eyālat* or colloquially *ayālat*.

§94 In Arabic loanwords ending in *-iat* or *-ie*, the *i* may be long:

جهان متفق بر الهیتش فرو مانده از کنه ماهیتش

<i>jahā</i> ” mot-	<i>tafeq bar</i>	<i>elāhī-</i>	<i>yataš</i> ⁸
<i>forū mā</i> ”-	<i>de az kon-</i>	<i>h e māhī-</i>	<i>yataš</i>

“The world agrees upon His divinity, (and is) perplexed at the unfathomableness of His nature”. Saʿdī

The reason for the long *i* is that these words in Arabic have *-yy-*: *إِلَهِيَّة* *ilāhiyyat* and *مَاهِيَّة* *māhiyyat*. Hence it is reasonable here to transcribe *-īyat* as above (not *-iat*).

§95 The diphthongs *ei* and *ou* are normally shortened before vowels or rather the second element of the diphthong, i.e. *i* or *u*, comes to function as

8 For the long *ā* see §127.

a consonant, *y* or *v*⁹, when followed by a vowel. Hence in such cases we transcribe *ey* and *ov*:

بزرگان بشادی پیار استند می و جام و رامشگران خواستند

<i>bozorgā</i>	<i>bə šādī</i>	<i>biārā-</i>	<i>s'tand</i>
<i>mey ō jā-</i>	<i>m o rāmeš-</i>	<i>garā</i> <i>x'ā-</i>	<i>s'tand</i>

“The grandees prepared for the celebration; they sent for wine and cup and musicians”.

بسیذخت مهرب گفت این سخن نو آوردی و نو نگردد کهن

<i>bə sī'dox-</i>	<i>t' mehrā-</i>	<i>b' goft ī</i>	<i>səxan</i>
<i>nov āvor-</i>	<i>dī ō nou</i>	<i>nagardad</i>	<i>kohan</i>

“Mehrab said to Sīdoxt: ‘A new thing have you told me and (although it is) new it does not become old (∴ it has universal validity)’”.

One of the rare examples of metrically long *ei* before a vowel may be seen in §170 third *beit*.

§96 The Classical Persian pronunciation of diphthongs before vowels, *-ay*, *-av*, is often preserved in word internal position. Thus برو “go”! is pronounced *borou* (Classical Persian pronunciation *hirau*), but میروم “I go” is pronounced *mīravam*. (However, besides *mīdavam* “I run” *mīdovam* (and *mīdovam*) is also heard). From کی *kei* “king” is derived کیانی “royal” of which three pronunciations are heard: *kayānī*, *keyānī* and *kiānī*. The latter is the commonest.

§97 In the combination *-ūy* (or *-ūy*) + vowel, *ū* (*ū*) may be shortened to *u* (*u*). In the preposition سوی *sū-ye* “towards” *su-ye* (and *su-yē*) are commoner than *sū-ye* (and *sū-yē*), elsewhere *-ūy-* (*-ūy-*) is commoner than *-uy-* (*-uy-*). *su-yē* and *sū-yē* are seen in the following example.

پراکنده فرمانش اندر جهان سوی نامداران و سوی جهان

<i>parāgan-</i>	<i>də farmā-</i>	<i>naš andar</i>	<i>jahān</i>
<i>su-yē nā-</i>	<i>m'dārā-</i>	<i>n o sū-yē</i>	<i>mehān</i>

9 This *v* is bilabial rather than labiodental, so the transcription *w* might have been preferable. However the use of the symbol *w* would have obscured the relations shown in §96, hence *v* has been preferred.

“His command (was) spread in the world to the illustrious ones and to the great ones”.

In the following two *abyāt* by Nezāmī—spoken by the mortally wounded Darius to Alexander—we have an example of *sū-ye* as well as both *-ūy-* and *-uy-* in other words.

تو ای پهلوان گامدی سوی من
که با آنکه پهلو دریدم چو منغ
نگه دار پهلوز پهلوی من
همی آید از پهلوم بوی تیغ

to ei pah-
negah dā-
ke bā ā-
hamī ā-

lavāⁿ k ā-
r^a pahlū
ke pahlū
yad az pah-

madī sū-
ze pahlū
daridam¹⁰
luyam bū-
ye man
ye man
co miq
y e tiq

“Oh you brave warrior, who have come up to me! Keep (your) side away from my side! For although my side is rent like a cloud, still the smell of the sword comes from my side (i.e. I may still hit back)”.

Examples of *su-ye* are common enough, but of course do not occur in the *motaqāreb* metre (§27).

§98 After a final long vowel *ast* “is” becomes *st*, optionally written ست or است after *-ī*, *-î*, *-ū*, *-û*, but always written ست after *-ā*. The following three examples are all taken from Saʿdī’s *būstān*.

صد انداختی تیر و هر صد خطاست
اگر هوشمندی یک انداز و راست

sad andā-
agar hū-

x^ʔtī tī-
š^ʔmandī

r o har sad
yek andā-
xatā st
z o rāst

“You have shot a hundred arrows and all hundred have missed (lit. are wrong). If you are wise, shoot one and hit (lit. and right)”.

نپذیری این قول معقول نیست
چو راضی شدی سیم و سنگت یکی است

napendā-
co rāzi

ri īⁿ gou-
šodī sī-

l^a maʿqū-
m o sangat
l^a nīst¹¹
yek ī st

10 *-am* is an enclitic pronoun syntactically belonging to *pahlū*.

11 Or *īⁿ qoul e maʿqūl^a nīst* “this is not reasonable talk”.

“You should not think that this talk is not reasonable¹². Once you accept¹³, silver and stone are the same to you”.

ندانم که چون راه بردم بدوست هر آن کس که پیش آمدم گفتم دوست

nadānam

ke cū" rā-

h^o bordam

bē dūst

har ā" kas

ke pīš ā-

madam¹⁴ gof-

tam ū st

“I do not know how I found my dear one. Every person who came before me, I said, ‘It is he’”.

However, when the metre requires, the poet may use the full form of *ast* even after a long vowel, but this is not common. The following example is from Nezāmī.

که بیاعی در نه سرهنگی است پسند نوادر هماهنگی است

ke bayyā-

ṣi yē dor¹⁵

na sarhan-

gi ast

pasand ē

navā dar

hamāhan-

gi ast

“For pearl trading is not soldiers’ work: the pleasantness of a tune is in (its) harmony. (I.e. you cannot bully me into selling my pearl. The deal must be acceptable to both parties.)”¹⁶

§99 After final short vowels, too, the *a* of *ast* may be elided. Elision is the rule after *-o*:

زرو نعمت اکنون بده گان تو است که بعد از تو بیرون ز فرمان تو است

zar ō neṣ-

mat aknū"

bedeh k ā-

n e to st

ke baṣd az

to bīrū"

ze farmā-

n e to st

“Give out gold and wealth now, when you have it, for after you (die) it is outside your command”.

Saḥdī

to st is also written *توست* or *تست*. The latter is commoner.

12 Namely that stone can be changed into silver.

13 A pun on the word *rāzī*: You have to accept both the teachings given in the preceding *abhyāt* and your own lot.

14 *-am* is an enclitic pronoun syntactically belonging to *pīš*.

15 Cf. §110.

16 The pun on *sarhangī* and *hamāhangī* and the ambiguous use of *navā* make this *beṭt* untranslatable.

After final *-e* elision of *a* is less common. Examples have been given in §§ 77-78.

Final *-e* and *-a* are contracted with *ast* to *-īst* and *-īst* respectively: *ce* + *ast* becomes چیست *cīst* "what is?"; *na* + *ast* becomes نیست *nīst* "is not".

Such contractions fall outside the scope of this book and are treated in the standard grammars. See e.g. Lazard §§ 100, 101 and 157.

Note that in some rare cases the metre requires نیست to be read *nayast*.

§ 100 Very rarely the *a* of *ast* is omitted after a long vowel followed by ن. I have only met with examples of this in the works of Moulavī¹⁷.

دو دهان داریم گویا همچو نی یک دهان پنهانست در لبهای وی

dō dahāⁿ dā-

rīm^a gūyā

hamco nei

yek dahāⁿ pen-

hāⁿ s^{1a} dar lab-

hā ye vei

— ٠ — —

— ٠ — —

— ٠ —

"Like the reed we have two mouths; one mouth is hidden in His lips".

For the metre of this example see § 201. For the sense compare § 170 last *beit*.

Persian does not admit of triple consonant clusters, and even if the poetry of Moulavī is known to be *sangin* "heavy", it is not probable that he should have produced verses with such clusters. Examples of the above type are therefore very strong evidence for ن being realized as a suprasegmental nasalization in the position between long vowel and consonant, since with that pronunciation the question of triple consonant clusters no longer arises. The Classical Persian pronunciation of پنهانست must therefore have been *pinhā[̃] st*. Cf. § 86.

17 See e.g. *kolliāt e šams*, lines 20866 and 32148 (*šams e dīⁿ st*).

ALTERING THE SYLLABIC STRUCTURE OF WORDS
BY SUPPRESSING SHORT VOWELS,
DOUBLING CONSONANTS ETC.

§ 101 In ordinary prose the enclitic pronouns have the forms *-am* "my", *-at* "thy", *-aš* "his etc.", *-emān* "our", *-etān* "your", *-ešān* "their" when following consonants, and the forms *-yam*, *-yat* etc. when following vowels. In the spoken language the forms *-m*, *-t*, *-š*, *-mān*, *-tān*, *-šān*¹ generally take the place of *-yam*, *-yat* etc. after vowels (Cf. Lazard § 91).

In the language of poetry the forms *-m*, *-t* etc. are freely used even—with the exception of *-m*—after consonants. Hence دادمش آب. "I gave him water" may be scanned in four ways: *dādamaš āb* — — —, *dādamaš 'āb* — — —, *dādamš āb* — — —, *dādamš' āb* — — —.

We have already seen several examples of the ordinary forms: § 36 second and third examples; § 60 first example; § 65 third example; § 77 second example; § 79 last example; § 83; § 84 second example; § 90 sixth example; § 94; § 97 both examples; § 98 second and third examples. Compare those with the following examples:

زبردست گردد سرزیردست

co bā mar-
zēbardas-

d e dānā-
t' gardad

چو با مردانات باشد نشست

t' bāšad
sar ē zī-

nešast
r'dast

"When you happen to sit together with a wise man, (your) inferior head becomes superior (i.e. you learn a lot)".

بدلش اندر آید ز هر سوهراس

bē yazdā"
bē delš an-

har ā" kas
dar āyad

بیزوان هر انگس که شد ناپس

ke šod nā-
ze har sū

sepās
harās

¹ Or rather *-mūn*, *-tūn*, *-šūn*, cf. § 3 footnote.

“Whoever has become ungrateful to God, from every quarter dread enters into his heart”.

چو رفتی سروکار با ایزد است اگر نیک باشدت کار اربد است

<i>co rafti</i>	<i>sar ō kā-</i>	<i>r^o bā ī-</i>	<i>zad ast</i>
<i>agar nī-</i>	<i>k^o bāšad-</i>	<i>r^{o2} kār ar</i>	<i>bad ast</i>

“When you have gone, (your) business is with God, whether your work is good or it is bad”.

کنونتان بیاید براو شدن بهریش و کم رای فترخ زدن
نخوبی سخنهاش پاسخ دهید چو پرسد سخن رای فترخ دهید

<i>konū^{ta}</i>	<i>hebāyad</i>	<i>bar ē ū</i>	<i>šodan</i>
<i>bē har bī-</i>	<i>š o kam rā-</i>	<i>y e farrox</i>	<i>zadan</i>
<i>bē xūbī</i>	<i>soxanhā-</i>	<i>š^o pāsox</i>	<i>dehid</i>
<i>co porsad</i>	<i>soxan rā-</i>	<i>y e farrox</i>	<i>dehid³</i>

“Now you must go to him and give (your) fine opinion on everything, great and trifling. Answer his words well. When he asks about a matter, give a fine opinion”.

Other examples may be seen in § 230 first *beit*, § 231 second *beit*, and § 241 second *beit*.

The following *beit* contains two of the extremely rare occurrences of *-m* “my” after a consonant.

نخواهم نبسوده برادرم را نسوزم دل پیر مادرم را

<i>nax^aānam</i>	<i>nabardē</i>	<i>barādar-</i>	<i>m^o rā</i>
<i>nasūzam</i>	<i>del ē pī-</i>	<i>r^o mādar-</i>	<i>m^o rā</i>

“I shall not call my warlike brother; I shall not torment (lit. burn) my old mother’s heart”.

§ 102 A sequence KVKVK \bar{V} -⁴ may be changed to KVKK \bar{V} -. In other words

2 In present day recitation pronounced *bāšatt*, in the time of Ferdousi probably *bāšadt* (تد).

3 Bertels’ edition has *nehid*.

4 K = consonant, V = short vowel, \bar{V} = long or short vowel.

two initial short syllables may be changed into one long by eliding the second short vowel, thus *šafaqat* "compassion, kindness" may become *šafqat* as in the following *heit* by Nezāmī.

ستم را بشقت بدل کرده نیز بسی مشکل دهر حل کرده نیز

setam rā *bē šafqat* *badal kar-* *dē nīz*
bas ī moš- *kel ē dah-* *r' hal kar-* *dē nīz*

"(I have) also changed tyranny to kindness; (I have) solved many problems of the age as well".

This elision is especially common in short syllables following the verbal prefixes *be-*, *ma-* and *na-*.

Thus *bederavī* "you reap" may become *bedravī* and *bešenavī* "you hear" may become *hešnavī*; *manešān* "do not place!!" may become *manšān* and *nanegarad* "he does not look" may become *nangarad*:

نگر تا چه کاری همان بدروی سخن هر چه گوئی همان بشنوی

negar tā *ce kārī* *hamā" bed-* *ravī*
soxan har *ce gūī* *hamā" beš-* *navī*

"Be careful what thou sowest (for) thou shalt reap the same; whatever word thou speakest thou shalt hear the same".

مکن خوار خواهند درویش را بر تخت نشان بداندیش را

makon x"ā- *r' x"āhan-* *dē darvī-* *š' rā*
bar ē tax- *t' manšā"* *badandī-* *š' rā*

"Do not despise the suppliant pauper; do not place a malevolent (person) near the throne".

بگیتی هر آن کس که دارد خورد سوی مردم بینوا ننگرد

bē gīti *har ā" kas* *ke dārad* *x"arad*
su-yē mar- *dom ē bī-* *navā nan-* *garad*

"In the world everyone who has, eats, (and) does not look at destitute people".

§103 If the vowel elided is *o*, *be-* is changed to *bo-*, whereas *ma-* and *na-* remain unchanged. Thus *بگشای* *begošāy* “open!” becomes *hogšāy*, but *مگشای* *magošāy* “do not open!” and *نگشاید* *nagošāyad* “he does not open” become *magšāy* and *nagšāyad* respectively, and *بشنو* *bešenou* “listen!” becomes *bešnou* (not **bošnou*) since the vowel elided is *e* not *o*.

فرستاده سلم چون گشت باز شهنشاه نشست و بگشاد راز

ferestā-

de yē sal-

m' cū" gaš-

t' bāz

šahanšā-

h' benšas-

t o hogšā-

d' rāz

“When the envoy of Salm returned, the emperor sat down and disclosed the secret”.

There are few exceptions to the above rule. Thus, although *بگشود* *begošūd* “he opened” becomes *bogšūd*, still *بربود* *berobūd* “he snatched” becomes *berbūd* (not **borbūd*).

قلم در کف تیر شکستی کلاه از سرمه بر بودی

qalam dar

kaf ē tī-

r' beškas-

tamī

kolāh az

sar ē mā-

h' berbū-

damī

“I would break the pen in Mercury’s hand. I would snatch the hat from Luna’s head”.

§104 Such elisions are freely used in verbs. They are not uncommon in Arabic loanwords, but they scarcely occur in proper Persian nouns and adjectives. *بپدر* *be pedar* “to father” does not become **be pdar*, neither does *پدرم* *pedaram* “my father” become **pedram*.

§105 Similar elisions are very common in the spoken language, where one hears *našnīdī* for *našenīdī* *نشنیدی* “did not you hear?” etc. Cf. Lazard §12.

§106 These elisions may have been caused by the “principle of least effort”, a factor which is always at work in languages. However, since their occurrence is determined not only by the phonetic environment, but also by lexical considerations, it is reasonable to suppose, that the forms with the second vowel elided represent an older linguistic stage.

In Pahlavi initial consonant clusters are common: *brīdan* “to cut”, *drūdan* “to reap”, *framūdan* “to order”, *frēftan* “to deceive”, *frēstādan* “to send”, *frōxtan* “to sell”, *grīftan* “to take”, *srūdan* “to sing”, *stadan* “to take”, *škastan* “to break”, *šnāxtan* “to know”, *xrīdan* “to buy”, etc. Classical and Modern Persian does not allow initial consonant clusters, so the

above words have become بریدن *horīdan*, درودن *dorūdan* (and درویدن *deravīdan*), فرمودن *farmūdan*, فریفتن *ferīftan*, فرستادن *ferestādan*, فروختن *forūxtan*, گرفتن *gereftan*, سرودن *sorūdan*, ستادن *setadan*, شکستن *šekastan*, شناختن *šenāxtan*, خریدن *xarīdan*, etc., all with the same meaning as in Pahlavī.

In internal positions, however, Persian does allow consonant clusters. Therefore, though Pahlavī *xrad* "wisdom" has become Persian خرد *xerad*, the form *xrad* is preserved in بخرد *beḫrad* "wise". Similarly, forms like بفرست *befrest* "send!", نفروخت *nafrūxt* "he did not sell", بگرفت *begreft* "he took", مشکن *maškan* "do not break!" etc. may be original, in which case *beferest*, *naforūxt*, *begereft*, *mašekan*, etc. should be considered secondary forms made by analogy with the prefixless forms.

Forms like *berbūd* and *bogšāy*, too, would have to be considered analogous formations, since the corresponding Pahlavī verbs do not have initial consonant clusters: *rubūdan* and *wišādan*.

§107 There are certain indications that initial consonant clusters did still exist in Persian as late as the twelfth century A.D. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why شمس قیس *Šams e Qeis*, the author of المعجم *al-moʿjam*⁵, should have been so eager to prove that they do not exist. His argument is simply that human beings are not capable of pronouncing initial consonant clusters: ابتداء بحرف ساکن مقدور بشر نیست *ehtedāʾ be harf e sāken maqdūr e bašar nīst*. He quotes the following words فغان *faqān* "alas", درم *deram* "drachma", سرای *sarāy* "house", شمار *šomār* "count!", said by a certain ابن درمستویه فسانی *Ebn e Dorostūye ye Fasāi* from the province of Fārs to be pronounced *fqān*, *dram*, *srāy* and *šmār* respectively. The second and third of these go back to Pahlavī *drahm* and *srāy*.

As a matter of fact one does occasionally meet with initial consonant clusters in the earlier Classical Persian poetry. An example—فروشد *frūšad* "he sells"—may be seen in the sixth *beit* of the poem quoted in §147.

§108 A sequence KVKVKKV̇- may be changed to KVKKVKV̇-. Thus گرسنه *gorosne* "hungry" may become *gorsene*; کابلستان *kābolestān* "country of Kābol" and گولستان *golestān* "garden" may become *kāholsetān* and *golsetān* etc.

کسی کاوندارد بود خوشک لب چنان چون توئی گرسنه نیم شب

kas ī k ū
conā" cū"

nadārad
toī gor-

bovad xoš-
senē nī-

k'lab
m' šab

"He who does not have, becomes dry-lipped (د: hungry), just as you are hungry (now at) midnight".

پرستندگان را سوی گلستان فرستد همی ماه کابلستان

⁵ The earliest treatise on Persian prosody still extant, written 1217 A.D. See page 36 in the critical edition by قزوینی *Qazvinī* and رضوی *Rezavī*, Tehran s.a.

parastan-
ferestad

deḡā" rā
hamī mā-

su-yē gol-
h e kābol-

setān
setān

“The ‘moon’ of the country of Kābol sends the servants to the garden”.

خداوند اوزنگ باسهم تن

چو اسفندیار آن کو تهمتن

co esfan-
xodāvan-

diār ā"
d e ouran-

gov⁶ ē tah-
g e hā sah-

motan⁷
m o tan⁸

“When Esfandiār, the brave hero, the ruler (lit. lord of the throne) of terrible appearance (heard ...)”.

§ 109 *gorosne* goes back to **gorsne* as shown by the colloquial form *gošne* (already in Pahlavi: *gušnag*, cf. the synonym *gursag*, both meaning “hungry”). When the language could no longer tolerate the cluster *-rsn-*, anaptyctic vowels made their appearance and produced the contending forms *gorosne* and *gorsene*. The former was victorious, *gorsene* being preserved only in the language of poetry. The same explanation *mutatis mutandis* can be given for *golestān/golsetān* etc. Curiously enough the original forms **golstān*, **gorsne* etc. would fit as well in the metres —*gors'ne* and *gols'tān*—but are rarely heard.

§ 110 In Arabic words doubled consonants are very common, but such doubled consonants do not come naturally to the Persians and in ordinary speech they are very often pronounced single. Cf. Lazard § 19. The poets take advantage of this to let such words have single or double consonants as the metre requires:

همی آمد از بوستان بوی مشک

همی در بارید بر خاک خشک

hamī dor-
hamī ā-

r⁹ bārī-
mad az bū-

d⁹ bar xā-
s'tā" bū

k e xošk
ye mošk

“Pearls (o: raindrops) rained on the dry ground. Smell of musk (o: sweet smell) came from the garden”.

Here *dorr* is pronounced with double *rr* as in Arabic.

6 Pronounce *gow ē*, cf. § 95 footnote and § 118. Some prefer to pronounce *guy ē*.

7 Or *tahm'tan*. The ordinary form *tahamtan* was seen in § 31, where as an epithet of Rostam it functions almost as a proper name. It is a compound of **tahm* “brave” (cf. Old Persian *taxma-* “brave”) and *tan* “body”.

8 A hendiadys: “with dread and body” i.e. “having a terrible appearance”.

نخست آلت جنگ را دست برد در نام حنین بگردان سپرد

noxost ā-
dor ē nā-

lat ē jan-
m' jostan

g' rā das-
bē gordān

t' bord
sepord

"First he put his hand to the implements of war. He entrusted the pearl of seeking fame (lit. name) to the warriors".

Here *dorr* has been simplified to *dor*.

In the following *beit* by Saʿdī *haqq* occurs twice, once as *haqq* and once as *haq*.

بجفتش که تا حق جمال نمود و گر هر چه دیدم خیالم نمود

bē haqqaš
degar har

ke tā haq
ce didam

jamālam
xayālam

nomud
nomud

"(I swear) by His truth, that since the True (ج: God) has shown me (His) beauty, whatever else I have seen has appeared a day-dream to me".

§111 On the analogy of alternative forms of Arabic loanwords like *haqq/haq*, genuine Persian words, too, have acquired alternative forms in the poetic language. The rare Persian words with doubled consonants occur with single consonants. *ommīd* "hope", فرخ *farrox* "fortunate" and بدتر *badtar* "worse" may become *omīd*⁹, *farox* and *batar*¹⁰, the latter via the assimilated form بتر *battar*.

همه نزد من سرسبز کا فرزند و ز آهر من بد کنش بدترند

hamē naz-
v az āher-

de man sar
man¹² ē bad-

bē sar kā-
koneš bad-

farand¹¹
tarand

"In my eyes they are all complete atheists and (are) worse than Ahreman the evildoer (who at least does not deny God's existence)".

9 Perhaps *omīd* should be considered the original form rather than *ommīd*.

10 In this form the word has passed into Turkish: *beter*.

11 The correct pronunciation of this word is *kāfer*, but the current form in the colloquial language is *kāfar*. *kāfer* would here make a poor albeit permissible rhyme, so I have preferred to read *kāfar*, imagining that this pronunciation might date back to Ferdousi's time.

12 Cf. §119.

بگیتی به از راستی پیشه نیست ز کثی تر هیچ اندیشه نیست

bə gītī

beh az rā-

s'tī pī-

šə nīst

ze kažžī¹³

batar hī-

c' andī-

šə nīst

“There is no craft in the world better than honesty (lit. straightness). Worse than crookedness there is no thinking”.

که چون پور با سم و مهتر شود از او باب را روز تر شود

ke cūⁿ pū-

r' bā sah-

m o mehtar

šavad

az ū bā-

h' rā rū-

z' battar

šavad

“(The Parsee said) that when a son becomes (more) formidable and greater, (his) father's lot (lit. day) becomes worse on account of him”.

In the above three *abyāt* *badtar*, *batar*, and *battar* may be compared. In the following *beit* *bacčē* has been changed to *bacē*.

یکی کور پیش آمدش ماده بود بچه پیش از او رفته او مانده بود

yek ī gū-

r' pīš ā-

madaš mā-

dē būd

bacē pī-

š az ū raf-

tē ū māⁿ-

dē būd

“Before him came an onager. It was a female. (Her) colt had gone before her, (but) she remained”.

To such forms the rule given in §102 may be applied. Thus *bacčegān* “children” may become first *bacčegān* and then *bacgān*:

جای جایی ابر سپید اندر هوا بین خرد همچو بچگان حواصل بر سر دریا روان

jāyⁿ jāy ab-

r ē sepīd an-

dar havā hīⁿ

xordⁿ xord

hamco bacgā-

n ē havāsel

bar sar ē dar-

yā ravān

“See here and there in the air the white clouds, (so) small, (so) small, just like pelican squabs moving on the surface of water”!

ازرقی Azraqī

13 For *kaži* cf. §112.

The metre of this example will be explained in §199. Compare also the third example in the next paragraph (*omīd*). The form *ommīd* occurs in the quotation on the titlepage.

§112 Similarly, single consonants may be doubled when the metre requires. Thus *-r-* very frequently becomes *-rr-*¹⁴. Stop consonants are rarely doubled in this way. The effect of such doubled consonants is sometimes astonishing as in the third example below, where *jamšīd* is changed to *jamm'šīd*. The first and second examples show doubling of final *-r*, *parr* for *par*, and of internal *-r-*, *darrandegān* for *darandegān*. The last example shows one of the very rare occurrences of a doubled stop consonant, *capp* for *cap*. See also the examples in §§71, 111 second *beit*, 140 fourth *beit*, 147 last *beit*, 233 second *beit*.

سپاه شب تیره بردشت و رانگ یکی فرش افکنده چون پرز رانگ

sepāh ē šah ē ti- rē bar daš- t o rāq
yek ī far- š' `afkan- de cūr¹⁵ par- r e zāq

“Dark Night’s army on plain and slope had spread a cover (black) like the raven’s plumage”.

زهرای درندگان چنک دیو شده ست از خشم کیهان خدیو

ze horrā- ye darran- degān can- g e dīy
šodē sos- t' `az xaš- m e keihān- xedīy

“Because of the roaring of the wild beasts, the hand of the demon had become impotent in dealing with the fury of the world-ruler”.

گفتی مدارید چندین امید نگر تا چه بد کرد با جمشید

be gīti madāri- d' candīn `omīd
negar tā ce bad kar- d' bā jam- m'šīd

“Don’t expect too much from the world, look at how ill it treated Jamšīd”!

شہ طیبیان جمع کرد از چپ و راست گفت جان هر دو در دست شاست

14 The doubled *-rr-* is often etymological. Cf. Pahlavi *parr* “feather”, and *darridan* “to tear”.

15 Bertels’ edition has *gostarde az* (and *afgande* in the apparatus).

*šah tabibā"**jamš' kard az**capp o rāst**goft' jān ē**har do dar das-**t ē šomā st*

-- 0 --

-- 0 --

-- 0 --

"The king assembled leeches from left and right. He said the life of both is in your hands".

Moulavī

This metre is explained in §201.

§113 Such doubled consonants do occur in the spoken language though rarely. cf. Lazard §19 end. In poetry, too, they are rather scarce and a form like *jamm'sjd* is definitely *sangin* "heavy", whereas the elision of short vowels in the syllables following *be-*, *na-* and *ma-* is frequent with all poets, even the most *ravān* "fluent".

POETIC LICENCE

§ 114 As we have seen in the previous chapters, the Persian language contains a rather high proportion of prosodically ambivalent elements, the most important of which are the following:

Words beginning with a vowel may or may not be reckoned as beginning with a consonant (Chapter VI).

The enclitics *e* (*ezāfe*) and *o* “and” may be reckoned short or long (Chapter VII).

Final short vowels may be lengthened (Chapter VIII).

Long vowels may be reckoned either long or short, when followed by another vowel (Chapter X).

Short vowels may in certain positions be elided (Chapter XI).

The poets naturally exploit these possibilities of rhythmically interpreting the same word in several ways. This cannot be called poetic licence, since these different pronunciations of the same word mostly occur in the spoken language as well. As the written forms of the words do not show which pronunciation is intended, it is necessary for all serious students of Classical Persian poetry to be thoroughly familiar with the rules given so far.

§ 115 Exploiting the rhythmical ambiguities of the language is not always enough to enable the poet to mould his ideas into the desired metrical form. He then takes the liberty of substituting either obsolete forms or dialect variants for the ordinary words, or—in the last resort—actually changing the words according to his own taste or lack thereof.

The term *poetic licence* is here used to describe such changes. Their study belongs to lexicography rather than prosody, so they need not detain us for long. Moreover they are virtually all indicated in the script, so that they give no trouble in scanning.

§116 The commonest poetic licence—the only one common enough to be called a rule—is the shortening of final *-āh* to *-ah*¹. Nothing prevents the poet from using the shortened and the full form side by side in the same *mesrāʿ*:

سپه‌دار شکر نهدار گاه		پناه سپه بود و پشت سپاه	
<i>panāh ē</i>	<i>sepah bū-</i>	<i>d o pošt ē</i>	<i>sepāh</i>
<i>sepaḥdā-</i>	<i>r e laškar</i>	<i>negahdā-</i>	<i>r e gāh</i>

“He was the shelter of the soldiers and the support of the soldiers, the general of the army and the upholder of the throne”.

Cf. also the first *beit* in §138.

Note that when the vowels are shortened by poetic licence, their quality, too, changes: بود *būd* “was” becomes بد *bod* (not **bud*), سپاه *[sepāh]* “army, soldiers” becomes *sepah* *[sepah]* (not **[sepāh]*), دیگر *dīgar* “other” becomes دگر *degar* (not **digar*).

When required *-āh* may also be changed—though much less commonly—to *-ā*:

که گوید که جز من کسی پادشاست		بزرگی و دیسیم شاه می مراست	
<i>bozorgī</i>	<i>yo deihī-</i>	<i>m e šāhī</i>	<i>marā st</i>
<i>ke gūyad</i>	<i>ke joz man</i>	<i>kas ī pā-</i>	<i>dešā st</i>

“Greatness and royal crown belongs to me. Who says that some other than I is king”?

§117 For the reasons given above (§115) a detailed treatment of poetic licence is unnecessary. Instead a list of typical changes is given with reference to verses in *šāhnāme* (ed. E. Bertels a.o., Moskva 1966-1971) where these changes may be seen.

§118 The commonest poetic licence is the shortening of long vowels: For خوابانید *x“ābānīd* “he laid low”², we find خوابنید *x“ābanīd* VI,103,551³. For انگیزاند *angīzānad* “he spurs”, we find انگیزند *angīzanad*, VI,104,562.

1 We have seen instances in §60 second example, §64, §80 first and fourth examples, §112 fourth example.

2 The translation given is here as elsewhere the one which suits the occurrence referred to.

3 I.e. *šāhnāme* (Bertels' edition), vol. VI, page 103, verse 551.

For بگریزاند *begorizānad* “he puts to flight”, we find *hogrizanad*⁴, VI,104,562.

In the three examples above the causative suffix *-ān* has been shortened to *-an*⁵.

For نیارامید *nayārāmid* “she did not pause”, we find *n-āramid*⁶, I,173,570 var. 8.

For شمارى *našomāri* “you do not count”, we find *našmarī*⁷, VIII, 110,967.

For پرداخته *pardāxtē* “freed”, we find *pardaxtē*, I,31,48. In Pahlavī *pardaxtan* is intransitive and *pardāxtan* transitive/causative. In the *beit* referred to *bepardāz* “make free” also occurs. Hence what at first sight appears an instance of poetic licence turns out to be in perfect agreement with Middle Persian usage formally as well as syntactically⁸:

از آن بدکنش دیوروی زمین بپرداز و پرداخته کن دل ز کین

az ān bad-

koneš dī-

v³ rū yē

zamin

bepardā-

z o pardax-

tē kon del

ze kīn

“Free the face of the earth from that maleficent demon and make your heart rid of hatred”.

For نشکارید *našekārid* “would not hunt”, we find *naškarid*⁹, I,173,571. *naškarid* is the older form, cf. Pahlavī *škarag* “hunting”.

For شاهنشاهی and شاهنشاه *šāhanšāh(i)* “emperor(ship)” we find شاهنشهی *šāhanšahi* *شهنشاه* *šahanšāh* etc., I,101,367; I,97,302. It is unnecessary to give further examples of *ah* for *āh*.

For گاوآن *gāvān* “bulls (♂: warriors)”, we find *gavān* VI,77,189, and for گاو *gāv* we find *gav*, which in turn becomes *gou* (cf. §96), VI,110,651. Cf. the paradigmatic change between *gāv-* and *gav-* in Avestān¹⁰. In Pahlavī the word was written with an ideogram which

4 Cf. §§102 and 103.

5 Cf. C. Salemann: *Mittelpersisch* §95 (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* I,1. Strassburg 1895-1901).

6 Cf. §80.

7 Cf. §§102 and 103.

8 Cf. C. Salemann: *Mittelpersisch* §94.

9 Cf. §§102 and 103.

10 See A.V. Williams Jackson: *An Avesta Grammar*, §278, Stuttgart 1892.

leaves the possibility open that a plural *gavān* originally contrasted with the singular *gāv*.

For *būdam* "I was", *būd* "he was" etc., we find *bodam* بد *bod* etc., I,171,547; I,101,364.

For *hūš* "mind" and *hūšyār*, *hūšiār* "vigilant", we find *hoš*, *hošyār*, *hošiār*, VI,85,285; VII,214,9.

For *kūh* "mountain", we find *koh*, VI,97,469.

For *xāmūš* "silent" we find *xāmoš* خامش and *xamoš*¹¹, VI,105,576; V,14,136 var. 24, and for *farāmūš* "forgotten" we find *farāmoš*, I,145,141. Cf. Pahlavī *frāmōš* and *frāmušt*.

For *bīhūde* "vain" we find *bīhode*, VIII,110,967.

For *nīkū* "good" we find *nekū*, I,35,31.

For *dīgar* "other" we find *degar* I,101,374.

For *īstād*¹² "stood up", *beīstad*¹² "he stands", etc., we find *estād*, *beestad*, etc., VI,103,551; VI,91,381. Cf. Pahlavī *ēstādan* and *estādan*.

For *cīnad* "he picks", we find *cenad*, VI,93,403. *cenad* could be the older form, cf. Avestan *vicinaoṭ*, but Pahlavī has already *cīn*-.

For *mīrad* "dies" and *bīrūn* "out", we find *merad* and *berūn*, VI,68,41; I,113,556.

The change of *e* to *o* is caused by the neighbouring labials (aided by the *o* of the infinitive stem and by the *ū* in the following syllable respectively)¹³.

For *gouhar*¹⁴ "jewel", we find *gohar*, I,111,521.

For *vei rā* (Classical Persian *vai rā*) "him", we find *va rā*, I,49,173.

Cf. also §87.

§119 Much less common is the lengthening of short vowels:

For *pāsox* "answer", we find *pāsūx*, VI,104,564.

For *ahreman* "the Evil Spirit", we find *ahrīman* and *āherman* (the long *ā* necessitates the transposition of *r* and *e* in the latter), III,245,3707; III,211,3218.

¹¹ And *xamūš* is found in *divān e hāfez* 10,7 (ed. Qazvīnī).

¹² Or *īstād*, *beīstad* etc.

¹³ Similarly *savār* "horseman" is sometimes pronounced *sovār*, and the prefix *ne-* may be changed to *no-*, *nemūdan*, *nomūdan* "to show", *rahnomūn* "guide", etc.

¹⁴ Classical Persian *gūhar* [go:har].

For افتادند *oftādand* "they fell", we find اوفتادند *ūftādand*, VIII,220,2873.

Cf. Pahlavī *ōftādan*.

For امید *om(m)īd* "hope", we find اومید *ūmīd*, IX,334,289.

For استاد *ostād* "master", we find اوستاد *ūstād*, VII,401,1708. Cf. Pahlavī *awestād*.

For آشفتنند *āšoftand* "they became agitated", we find آشوفتنند *āšūftand*, VIII,220,2873.

For مهمان *mehmān* "guest", we find میهمان *mīhmān*, VII,235,287.

§120 Sometimes a vowel disappears altogether:

For اگر *agar* "if", we find گر *gar* I,99,336.

For انار *anār* "pomegranate", we find نار *nār*, V,7,21. Borrowed into Turkish in this form.

For آزاد *āzād* "upright", we find زاد *zād*, VI,69,67.

For پذیرفت *pazīroft* "he accepted", we find پذیرفت *pazroft*, VI,69,67.

For امیر *amir* "commander", we find میر *mir*, VII,113,7.

§121 Much more common is the addition of an extra vowel:

For بی *bī* "without", we find ابی *abī*, I, 95,262. Cf. Pahlavī *abē*.

For با *bā* "with", we find ابا *abā*, I,22,141. Cf. Pahlavī *abāg*.

For بر *bar* "on", we find ابر *abar*, I,60,161. Cf. Pahlavī *abar*.

For نوشه *nūšē* "fortunate", we find انوشه *anūšē*, VIII,335,338. Cf. Pahlavī *anōšag*.

For زیرا *zīrā* "therefore", we find ازیرا *azīrā*, I,16,58. From **az īn rā* (or from Pahlavī *az ēd rā*, cf. §86b).

For آشکار *āškār* "evident", we find آشکارا *āškārā*, VI,72,101. Cf. Pahlavī *āškārāg*.

It will be seen that in all the above examples the forms with extra vowels are really the original ones.

For آوردن *āvordan* "to bring", we find آوریدن *āvaridan*, I,117,635; and for پرورده *parvarde* "brought up", we find پروریده *parvaride*, VI,99,501.

In these two examples we do not find archaic forms substituted for current ones. On the contrary the poet is here ahead of the development and employs analogical formations not yet accepted as standard.

For فریدون *ferīdūn* "Feridun", we find آفریدون *āferidūn*, I,117,628. An instance of popular etymology.

For آهنین *āhanin* "made of iron", we find آهنینه *āhanine*, VI,80,228.

For پهلوان *pahlavān* "champion", we find پهلوانا *pahlavānā*, II,64,27.

For گفت *goft* "said", we find گفتا *goftā*, VI,71,96.

For باد *bād* "be", we find بادا *bādā*, VI,88,332.

For خنجر *xanjar* "dagger", we find خنجرا *xanjarā*, VI,98,486.

For اندر *andar* "in", we find اندرا *andarā*, VI,98,486.

For سگالیدن *segālīdan* "to think of", we find سگالیدنا *segālīdanā*, VI, 103,558.

In the last several instances a long *ā* has been added to the word. Originally, this *ā* was probably the asseverative enclitic particle *ā* or *hā*, which is so common in the colloquial language—surprisingly enough not mentioned by Lazard—but in the language of the poets it has degenerated into a mere verse-filler. As such it has been admirably parodied by عبید زاکانی Obeid e Zākanī in his موش و گربه *mūš o gorbe* "Mouse and Cat", of which a *beit* is quoted in §231.

§122 Word initial *ṼKK-* is often changed to *KṼK-* and *vice versa*:

For اسکندر *eskandar* "Alexander", we find سکندر *sekandar*, VII,6,10 (Cf. VII,6,1). From Pahlavī **Skandar*.

For سپهبدان *sepahbodān*¹⁵ "the generals", we find اسپهبدان *espahbodān*¹⁵, VI,77,189. Cf. Pahlavī *spāhbed*.

For ابروهایش *abrūhāyaš* "his brows", we find بروهایش *barūhāš*¹⁶, IX, 327,209. Cf. Pahlavī *brūg*.

For سپر *separ* "shield", we find اسپر *espar*, V,199,1954. Cf. Pahlavī *spar*.

For شکارم *šekāram* "I hunt", we find اشکرم *eškaram*, IV,313,176. From Pahlavī *škar-*, cf. §118.

The Pahlavī forms show all the above examples to be parallel developments of original word initial consonant clusters. In the following examples the poetical forms are the older ones.

For شتر *šotor* "camel", we find اشتر *oštōr*, II,133,114. Cf. Pahlavī *uštār*.

For فراز *farāz* "high", we find افراز *afrāz*, II,44,13 var. 2. Cf. Pahlavī *abrāz*.

For بفشرد *befešord* "he pressed", we find بيفشرد *biafšord*¹⁷, III,175,2685.

Cf. Pahlavī *afšurdan*.

For شتاب *šetāb* "haste", we find اشتاب *eštāb*, II,192,296. Cf. Pahlavī *awištāb*.

¹⁵ For the development *bad* to *bod*, cf. §118 end and footnote. (The rhymes suppose *bad*.)

¹⁶ Cf. §101.

¹⁷ Cf. §93.

For سپردی *sepordi* "you entrusted", we find اسپردی *espordi*, VI,111,675.
Cf. Pahlavī *abespurdan*.

In a number of cases the poetical forms are ahead of the standard forms in development. It should be noted that the vowel quality often fluctuates:
For فروخت *afriuxt* "he kindled", we find فروخت *faruxt* or فروخت *foruxt*, I,236, 1478.

For افزون *afzūn* "more", we find فزون *fozūn*, VIII,7,22.

For افزود *afzūd* "increased", we find فزود *fozūd*, I,101,376.

For افسانه *afsāne* "tale", we find فسانه *fasāne*, V,304,1156.

For افسوس *afsūs* "sorrow", we find فسوس *fosūs*, IV,118,46.

For افسون *afsūn* "fraud", we find فسون *fosūn*, IX,229,3659.

For افشاند *afšānd* "he scattered", we find فشاند *fešānd*, VII,163,145.

For افتاد *oftād* "it fell", we find فتاد *fetād*, I,117,637.

For افکند *afkand* (Classical Persian *afgand*) "threw", we find فگند *fegand*¹⁸, I,106,453. Classical Persian *afgandan* (Pahlavī *abgandan*) has become *afkandan* in Modern Persian with assimilation of *fg* to *fk*, whereas in *fegandan* *g* remains.

§123 Sometimes a consonant disappears. If the consonant is followed by a short vowel (*motaharrek*), the vowel disappears as well:

For آواز *āvāz* "voice", we find آوا *āvā*, I,171,544.

For فروردین *farvardīn* "March/April", we find فرودین *farvadīn*, I,42,53.

For اگر *agar* "if", we find ار *ar*, VI,70,82. Cf. §60.

For آورد *āvarad* "he brings" and آور *āvar* "bring" etc., we find آرد *ārad* and آر *ār* etc. I,106,459; V,7,18. This change is very common in the colloquial language as well, cf. Lazard §23,2.

Not surprisingly, *h* is the consonant which most often disappears:

For گواه *govāh* "testimony", we find گوا *govā*, VI,69,68.

For گیاه *giāh* "herb", we find گیا *giā*, I,15,52.

For هیچ *hiç* "(none) at all", we find ایچ *ic*, I,16,58.

For چهل *cehel* "forty" and چهار *cahār* "four", we find چل *cel* and چار *cār*, IX,225,3601; IX,308,8. Both are common in the spoken language, cf. Lazard §23,3.

See also second example in §116

¹⁸ Bertels' text has فکند, probably a misprint.

§124 Various other changes:

For *zardošt* “Zoroaster”, we find *zardhošt*, VI,70,82 (the form preferred by Daqīqī), and *zardhešt*, VI,261,721 (the form preferred by Ferdousī). *zardošt*, which is less common in *šāhnāme* (e.g. VI,71,92), goes back to Pahlavī *Zardušt*; *zardhošt/zardhešt* come from **zardohešt* from Pahlavī *Zarduxšt*.

For *har zamān* “all the time”, we find *hazmān*, I,103,402.

For *hūšyār, hūšiār* “wise”, we find *hošivār*, I,13,24.

For *pesar* “son”, we find *pos*, VI,81,241. Cf. Pahlavī *pus* and *pusar*.

ʕafv “pardon” must in I,22,146 be read *ʕafū*, and *hedīe* “gift” must in IX,307,7 var. 13 be read *hedyē*.

For *peiqām* “message” and *peiqāmbār* “messenger”, we find forms like *peiqambar*, *peyambar*, *payām*, VI,71,85; VI,69,57; VI,70,79.

For *narīm(ān)* “Narīmān”, we find *neiram*, I,173,574. Cf. Avestan *nairemanah-*.

For the proper name *ormoz*, we find several archaic variants like *hormoz*, VII,325,350; *hormozd*, III,225,3430; *ūrmozd* (by the Russian editor wistfully read *auramazd*), VIII,257,3492.

For *farvardīn* “March/April”, we find *fūrdīn*, VIII,10,75.

Neither the substitution of the archaic *bed*, I,113,565 (Pahlavī *pad* cf. *padīd* “to view, visible”) for *be* “to” before vowels, nor the common use of archaic forms like *mūy* (Pahlavī *mōy*), *rūy* (Pahlavī *rōy*), *ūy* (Pahlavī *ōy*) for *mū* “hair”, *rū* “face” or *ū* “he” can be called poetic licence.

THE ARABIC ELEMENT

§ 125 Arabic sentences, phrases, and expressions often occur in Persian poetry. They must be pronounced according to the rules of Arabic grammar, but with Persian accent, i.e. ثَالِثًا *θāliṭhan* “thirdly” becomes *sālesan* [sā:lesan] etc.

It falls outside the scope of this work to give a description of all those rules of Arabic grammar which the student must know for the correct scansion of those *abyāt* written wholly or partly in Arabic which he may occasionally come across. For this purpose the student will have to study Arabic grammar, which for other and more important reasons, too, is indispensable to all serious students of Persian.

However, two points which are important for correct scansion, but sometimes not mentioned at all in the Arabic grammars¹, should be noted.

§ 126 At the end of a *mesrāʿ* or a phrase, the حَرَكَات *harekāt* “sounds indicated (or not indicated) by diacritical signs” are not pronounced, as in this famous *beit* by Saʿdī describing the Prophet:

تَقِيمُ حَسِيمٍ نَسِيمٍ وَاسِيمٍ

ṣafīʿon

qasimon

motāʿon

jasimon

شَفِيعٌ مَطَاعٌ نَبِيٌّ كَرِيمٌ

nabīyyon

nasimon

karim

vasim

“(He is) an intercessor, one to be obeyed, a prophet, merciful, shapely, imposing, fragrant, handsome”.

Here, *karimon* and *vasimon* have lost their تَنْوِين *tanvīn* “nunation”, standing at the end of a *mesrāʿ*. In a similar position ثَالِثًا *sālesan* “thirdly” would become *sālesā*, and هُوَ *hova* “he” would become *hū*. (From the point of view of Arabic grammar *huwa* becomes *huw*.) An example of *hū* may be seen in § 231 last example.

1 From the point of view of prosody, the study of تَجْوِيد *tajwīd* “the art of reading or reciting the قرآن *qorʿān* with the proper rhythm” is more profitable than the study of Arabic grammar.

Enclitic pronouns ending in a short vowel are lengthened when following a short vowel, thus رَبِّهِ *rabboh* "his master" (from *rabbo* + *ho*). At the end of a *mesrāʿ* this, of course, becomes *rabboh*. An example may be seen in §231 last example.

The poets sometimes manipulate these rules in an arbitrary manner. The *qorʿān* has the following passage (XXVIII.88)

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ

"All things perish except His face".

If this passage is quoted in a Persian poem it should become *kollo šeiʿen hālekon ʿellā vajhah*. However in the *beit* below, Moulavī has changed *hālekon* to *hālek* and suppressed the *hamze* of *ʿellā*, and for *vajhah* the metre and the rhyme require *vajhahō*. In other words Moulavī pronounces وَجْهَهُ as if it were not the final word in the *mesrāʿ*, and هَالِكٌ as if it were the final word in the *mesrāʿ*.

وز ملک هم بایدم جستن ز جو کل شی هاکت الا وجهه

v az malak ham

bāyadam jas-

tan ze jū

kollo šeiʿen

hālek ellā

vajhahō

"And from angel, too, I must leap over the river, (i.e. even the angelic state I must transcend) (for) 'All things perish except His face'".

The rhythm of this example is the same as in §100.

§127 Some Arabic loanwords contain a long *ā* which is either not shown in the script or indicated by a diacritical mark, the so-called الف مقصوره *alef e maqsūre* "short alef": معنى or لیلی *maʿnā* "meaning", الله or الله *allāh* "God". In Persian these words may be pronounced as the written form without the diacritical mark seems to indicate: *maʿnī*, *leilī*, *allah*. Hence الله may be pronounced *allāh* or *allah* as the metre requires. The former is the commoner.

خروش آمدند اکبر ز دشت چو شکر سوی آب حیوان گشت

co laškar

su-yē ā-

b e heivā

gozašt

xorūš ā-

mad allā-

ho akbar

ze dašt

"When the army advanced towards the Water of Life, a loud cry "God is great" rose from the plain".

تعالیٰ از حسن تا غایتی که پنداری از رحمت است آیتی

taṣāla l-

lah² az hos-

n e tā qā-

yat ī

ke pendā-

ri az rah-

mat ast ā-

yat ī

“God be exalted from (و: expression of wonder) that extreme beauty, which one would think is a revelation of His grace”. *Saḥdī*

Whether a word like لیلی should be pronounced *leilā* or *leilī* cannot always be decided. Sometimes the pronunciation is shown by the rhyme as in §140 below. Occasionally it can be deduced from the rhythm: if the scansion shows that the final vowel is shortened—this can only happen before a vowel (including *ezāfe*)—then the shortened vowel must be *i*, since final *-ā* is incapable of metrical shortening, (cf. §§89 and 90):

آن که با نمرود این احسان کند ظلم کی با موسی عمران کند

āⁿ ke bā nem-

rūd² `in eh-

sāⁿ konad

zolm² kei bā

mūsi yē ṣem-

rāⁿ konad

— — —

— — —

— — —

“He who does such kindness to Nimrod, when does He do (و: never does He do) injustice to Moses (the son) of Amram”.

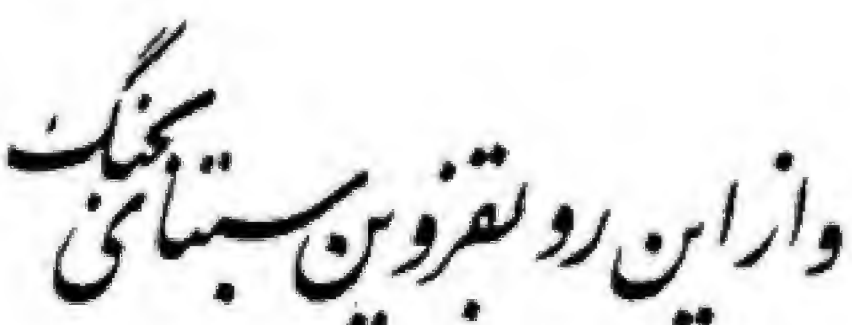
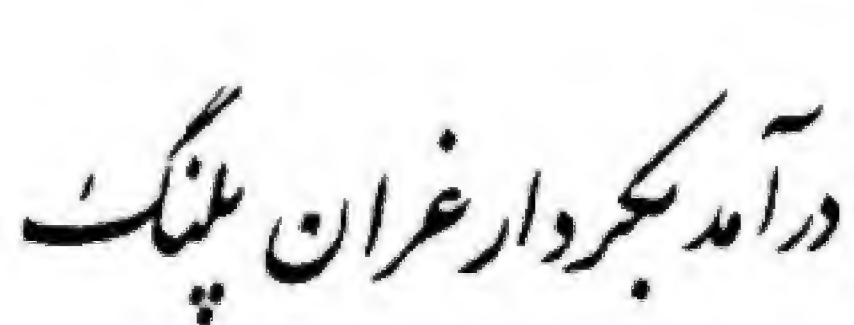
پروین اعتصامی *Parvīn e Eṣtesāmī*

(The metre employed in this example is the same as that of §100.) In the above example it would be impossible to read *mūsā*, but very often the quality of the vowel cannot be decided. In such cases most Persians, surprisingly enough, prefer to pronounce *leilī*, *mūsi* etc. Cf. §§145 and 146.

§128 Foreign words other than Arabic often seem not to follow the rules of prosody. Thus, the Mongol proper name سبتای *sobotāy* “Subutai” must be scanned *sobōtāy* — — (and not *sobotāy*² — — —, as one would expect) in the following *beit* from ظفرنامه مستوفی *zafarnāme ye mostoufī*³.

2 In the Forūqī/Āštiānī edition (Teheran 1354) printed الله. Nevertheless, the *a* must be pronounced short. The phrase *taṣāla llāh* illustrates two important rules of Arabic grammar: the elision of *a* of the definite article after a vowel, and the shortening of long vowels before unvowelled or doubled consonants; *taṣālā + allāh* must become *taṣāla llāh*.

3 Cf. §179.

v az ī' rū

dar āmad

bē qazvī'

bē kerdā-

sobōtāy

r e qorrā'

bē jang

palang

“Hence Subutai set out for war towards Qazvīn like a fierce leopard”.

The reason for this apparent irregularity must be that the name was really pronounced something like *sobōtāy*⁴. Since it is not spelled سبوتی *sobūtei* (Classical Persian pronunciation *subōtai*), we must conclude that the sound changes described in §3 had already occurred by the year 1300 at least in the dialect of the author⁵.

French and English loanwords are treated in a similar way by the modern traditionalists.

4 Mongolian sources give his name as *subegetai* > *sube'etai* > *subetai* pronounced *sübētāi* (see Erich Haenisch: *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an, Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig 1939, p. 181), so the Persian pronunciation was probably at first *sobētāi*, which leads us to the same conclusions about the sound changes as *sobōtāi* does.

I am grateful to magister Kåre Thomsen Hansen for drawing my attention to these facts.

5 On the other hand, the Demotic Greek phrases occurring in *kolliāt e šams* lead us to conclude that the same sound changes had not yet occurred in the year 1250—at least not in Moulavī's dialect. We thus read بوسیسی *pos ise* (πῶς εἶσαι) “How are you?” (line 24028), کالی میرا سس *kali mera sas* (καλὴ μέρα σας) “Good morning to you” (line 34261), ايله دو *ela do* (ἐλὰ δὼ) “Come here”! (line 34262), اغاپوسی *ayapo se* (ἀγαπῶ σε) “I love you” (line 26981 ff.).

RHYME

§ 129 *soḡan ī st nazm ...سخنی است که دارای وزن و قافیه باشد* *ke dārā ye vazn o qāfiye hāšad* "Poetry is speech possessing rhythm and rhyme"¹. Therefore it is not out of place to glance at the rhymes employed in Persian poetry before proceeding to an examination of the various rhythms.

§ 130 In Persian poetry, rhyme means that two or more sections—each section consisting ordinarily of a *mesrāʿ* or a *beit*—from a certain point onwards are identical in sound, but *not* in meaning. The identical portion must contain at least one vowel and may have any length from a single letter to several words.

(Up to § 139 the examples are all with the exception of the one in § 131 taken from Nezāmī.)

زمانه برآرد بهانه ببرد
که بر مرگ خویش آیدش آرزو

چو وقت رحیل آید از رنج و درد
چنان افشرد روزگارش کلو

co vaqt ē

rahil ā-

yad az ran-

j o dard

zamānē

bar ārad

bahānē

be mard

conān af-

šarad rū-

z'gāraš

gelū

ke bar mar-

g e x'īš ā-

yadaš 'ā-

r'zū

"When the time for departure (to the other world) comes, time brings to man a pretext of trouble and pain; time squeezes his throat in such a way, that he desires his own death".

In the first *beit* the identical section is *-ard*; in the second *beit* it is shorter still, being the single vowel *-ū*. Still the two *-ū*'s are not identical in meaning since they cooperate with other sounds in conveying the different meanings "throat" and "desire".

1 Jalāl Homāī: *fonūn e balāqat o senāʿāt e adabī* (Teheran 1354), p. 5.

In the next example the identical element is much longer: *-īcīde am*

بهر جا که رفتن پیچیده ام سر از داد و دانش پیچیده ام

bē har jā

ke raftan

pasīcī-

de² am

sar az dā-

d o dāneš

napīcī-

de am

“Wherever I have been prepared to go, I have not turned away my head from justice and wisdom”.

§131 In classical poetry the *majhūl* vowels *ī* and *ū*—originally pronounced *ē* and *ō*—do not rhyme with the *mašrūf* vowels *i* and *u*. It is not a coincidence that the first long vowel in both *pasīcīde* and *napīcīde* is *majhūl* and the second vowel in both words *mašrūf*. Cf. §2 (Post-classical poets, of course, rhyme *ī* with *ī* and *ū* with *ū*.)

The most conspicuous effect of this is that the indefinite article *ī* rhymes neither with the suffix *-ī* forming adjectives and abstract nouns nor with the enclitic verb *-ī* “thou art”. Note that the Modern Persian stress-accent plays no role:

بدو گفت تو را تو از ما کی چرا بر نهادی کلاه می

bēd ū gof-

t' tūr ar

to az mā

kehī

cerā har

nehādī

kolāh ē

mehī

“To him Tūr said, ‘If you are smaller than we, why have you placed the hat of greatness (o: crown) on your head?’”

Ferdousi

Here *kéhī* rhymes with *mehī*.

§132 In the traditional learning, rhyme is the subject of a special discipline علم قافیه *selm e qāfiye* “the science of rhyme”, possessing an elaborate and to my mind absolutely superfluous terminology. Thus in the last example of §130, this “science of rhyme” has a special technical term for each and every atom of the rhyming element: *-īcīde am*, analysed as *-e-y-e-e-y-d-e-`-a-m* or *-i-y-c-i-y-d-a-`-a-m*, is described by no less than ten different technical terms, which the reader may find in Elwell-Sutton, p. 225-234.

§133 In the following example the identical element is *-dūst*.

بآزم سلطان درویش دوست بدرویش قانع که سلطان خوداوست

bē āzar-

m e soltā-

n e darvī-

š`dūst

bē darvī-

š e qāneš

ke soltāⁿ

x`od ū st

2 Not *basīcīde*! Cf. W.B. Henning: *Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian*, BSOAS X, p. 104.

3 As is often the case in great Persian poetry, this *beit* evokes—by the different combinations of the various meanings of its words—simultaneously a number of different images. It is

“(I swear) by the shame (or modesty or sorrow³) of the sultan who loves the poor, (and I swear) by the contented poor one, who is himself a sultan”.

Here the identical element, *-dūst*, is not a rhyme to the English speaker, who defines rhyme as identity of sounds between words or lines extending back from the end to the last fully accented vowel and not farther. But according to the definition given in §130 it is. For the European it takes a while to accustom himself to rhymes of this type, but in the end he can become quite fond of them. They are often brilliant word plays as in the following example.

ز دوزخ مشو تشنه را چاره جوی سخن در بهشت است و آن چاره جوی

ze dūzax

mašou teš-

ne rā cā-

rejūy

soxan dar

behešt as-

t o ā" cā-

r' jūy

“Don’t seek from hell a remedy for the thirsty! The matter is in Heaven and those Four Streams⁴”.

The rhyming element is *-jūy*, identical in sound, but not in meaning. If *’* was originally pronounced *a*, the identical portion must in the time of Nezamī have sounded *cārajōy*, meaning “seeking remedy” as well as “four streams”.

§134 The rhyme may comprise several words. In the following example the rhyme occupies more than half of each *mesrā*⁵.

زرنجم در آسایش آرد مگر بر این خاک بنحاشش آرد مگر

ze ranjam

dar āsā-

yeš ārad

magar

bar ī" xā-

k' baxšā-

yeš ārad

magar

therefore untranslatable. *āzarm* has *inter alia* the meanings “shame”, “sorrow”, “modesty” and “dignity”. *darvīšdūst* may mean “loving the poor” as well as “loved by the poor”. Hence *āzarm e soltān e darvīšdūst* may be taken as the sorrow of the sultan who fights poverty in vain; it may also mean his shame or modesty, because he knows that he ought to protect the poor better, but it can also convey the meaning of the dignity of the sultan whom the poor love. Moreover by the Sultan we may understand God, in which case both meanings of *darvīšdūst* fit equally well. One should not try to decide upon any one of these interpretations to the exclusion of the others. They all coexist in the verse, which may be understood on several planes at the same time.

4 The four rivers of Paradise.

“Perhaps He will bring me from affliction to rest. Perhaps He will bring forgiveness to this clay”.

Here is the identical portion is *-āyeš ārad magar*⁵.

§135 موبدان *mūbadān* “Guebres” is not supposed to rhyme with مسلمان *moslemān* “Muslims”, because the identical portion, *-ān*, in this case is identical not only in form, but also in sense, namely “plural”. Similarly گشتن *gaštan* “to turn” is not supposed to rhyme with رفتن *raftan* “to go”.

Transgressions against this rule are not very rare⁶.

§136 Before the rhyme proper there may be another identical portion separated from the rhyme only by a single letter. The reader may enjoy the effect even without knowing the technical term for it:

دریغا چراغی بدین روشنی		بخوابد شستن زیروغنی	
<i>derīqā</i>	<i>cerāq ī</i>	<i>bēd īⁿ rou-</i>	<i>šani</i>
<i>bex^aāhad</i>	<i>nešastan</i>	<i>ze bīrou-</i>	<i>qanī</i>

“Alas, that a lamp with this (o: such) brightness is going to go out for lack of oil”!

Here the rhyming element is *-anī* strengthened by *rou-*. In the following example it is *-āz* strengthened by *cāre-*.

ارستو جهان دیده چاره ساز		ببیچارگی ماند از این چاره باز	
<i>arestū</i>	<i>jahāⁿdī-</i>	<i>dē yē cā-</i>	<i>rešāz</i>
<i>bē bīcā-</i>	<i>reḡī māⁿ-</i>	<i>d az īⁿ cā</i>	<i>re bāz</i>

“Aristoteles, the experienced provider of remedies, was lost without remedy (in his search) for this remedy (i.e. the remedy here needed: a remedy against death”.

§137 The rhyme effect may be strengthened by the use of internal rhyme, as in the second *mesrāʿ* of the first example in §130, where in addition to

5 In the traditional terminology only *-āyeš* is termed *qāfiʿe* “rhyme”. The remainder, *ārad magar*, is called ردیف *radif* “refrain”.

6 A number of examples is given by Elwell-Sutton, p. 237, and in the fourth *heit* of §101 above Ferdousi allows *šodan* to rhyme with *zadan*. Cf. also §232 footnote 16.

7 Bābāyof’s edition has *ān*.

the rhyme proper, there is an internal rhyme, the first *rokn*, *zamānē*, rhyming with the third, *bahānē*. The final syllable of an internal rhyme practically always coincides with the final syllable of a *rokn*. This will be discussed more fully below, §§ 149 and 192. Cf. also § 28 above. (Internal rhyme is called *سجع* *sajʿ* "cooing".)

§ 138 The arrangement of the rhymes does not show the same variation as in Western poetry. There are two main varieties:

Either there is but one rhyme repeated throughout the poem at the end of each *beit* (see below § 140), or else the first *mesrāʿ* of each *beit* rhymes with the second, and the rhyme changes for each *beit*, as in the following example.

ز ریک سیه تا آب سیاه
نمایم که یک دم نپیموده ام
ندیده جهان را همی جان سپرد
هنوزم نشد دیده از دیدیر
همین نکته گویم سرانجام کار

siah tā
ze riğ ē
garam bā-
nemāyam
bēd ā" tef-
nadidē
jahā" jom-
hanūzam
na ī" sī
hamī" nok-

siah dī-
siah tā
z" porsī
ke yek dam
l e yekrū-
jahā" rā
le dīdam
našod dī-
yo šeš gar
te gūyam

سیه تا سیه دیدم این کارگاه
گرم باز پرسی که چون بوده ام
بدان طفل یک روزه مانم که مرد
جهان جمله دیدم ز بالا و زیر
نه این سی و شش گری بود سی هزار

dam ī" kā-
bē āb ē
ke cū" bū-
napeimū-
ze mānam
hamī jā"
ze bālā
dē az dī
bovad sī
saranjā-
r"gāh
siāh
dē am
dē am
ke mord
sepord
wo zīr
d" sīr
hezār
m e kār

"(Alexander says on his death bed:) From Black to Black I have seen this place of action (ع: the world), from the Black Sand (the Karakum Desert) to the Black Water (the Black Sea). If you inquire of me, how I have been (ع: lived), I must say that I have come no way (lit. I declare that I have not

traversed one moment). I am like that one-day-old infant who died (and) not having seen the world gave up his soul. I have seen the world, the whole, from above and below, and still my eye has not seen enough (lit. has not become satiated with seeing). Will I not—if these thirty six (years of my life) become thirty thousand—at the end of the affair say the same remark?"

The arrangement of the rhyme is seen to be aa bb cc dd ee. This type of poem is called a *مثنوی masnavi*. (Note the plural *مثنویات masnaviāt*.) It may extend to any length, and all long narrative and didactic poems are composed in this form. We might therefore translate it "narrative poem", but the word, *masnavi*, itself is derived from the Arabic word for "two" (*اثنان iθnāni*) and indicates that each rhyme occurs only twice; we shall therefore leave it untranslated and employ the term *masnavi*.

§139 Another important characteristic of the *masnavi* is that with very few exceptions (see §§ 172 and 252-253 below) each *mesrāʿ* always comprises *eleven* syllables. According to Elwell-Sutton (p. 245) "this strongly suggests a connection with the poetry of the Pahlavī books, where the eleven-syllable line is also the norm, though the metrical pattern is less clear". Also the Turkish *ḡutadḡu bilig* "Auspicious Knowledge", finished in 1069/70, is written in eleven-syllable lines. See Chapter XXV.

All the examples quoted so far have been taken from *masnaviāt* with the sole exception of the example quoted in §71 and the last *beit* in §111, where incidentally each *mesrāʿ* comprised twelve and fifteen syllables respectively.

§140 The other main rhyme arrangement may be seen in the following poem by *رابعه قزدارى Rābeʿe ye Qozdārī*.

چمن رنگ اترنگ مانى گرفت	زبس گل که در باغ ماوى گرفت
که گل رنگ رخسار ليلي گرفت	مگر چشم محنون بابر اندر هست
سرشکى که در لاله ماوى گرفت	بى ماند اندر عقیقین قدح
نشان سرتاج کسرى گرفت	سر زگر س تازه از زر و سیم
بنفشه مگر دین ترسى گرفت	چو رهبان شد اندر لباس کبود

<i>ze bas gol</i>	<i>ke dar bā-</i>	<i>q' ma'vi</i> ⁸	<i>gereft</i>
<i>caman ran-</i>	<i>g e artan-</i>	<i>g e māni</i>	<i>gereft</i>
<i>magar çeş-</i>	<i>m e majnū</i> ⁹	<i>bē abr an-</i>	<i>dar ast</i>
<i>ke gol ran-</i>	<i>g e roxsā-</i>	<i>r e leilī</i> ⁸	<i>gereft</i>
<i>bē mei mā-</i>	<i>nad andar</i>	<i>ṣaqiqī</i> ¹⁰	<i>qadah</i>
<i>serešk ī</i>	<i>ke dar lā-</i>	<i>le ma'vi</i> ⁸	<i>gereft</i>
<i>sar ē nar-</i>	<i>ges ē tā-</i>	<i>ze az zar-</i>	<i>r o sim</i>
<i>nešān ē</i>	<i>sar ē tā-</i>	<i>j e kasrī</i> ⁸	<i>gereft</i>
<i>co rohbā</i> ¹¹	<i>šod andar</i>	<i>lebās ē</i>	<i>kabūd</i>
<i>banafšē</i>	<i>magar dī-</i>	<i>n e tarsī</i> ⁸	<i>gereft</i>

“For all the flowers that have taken refuge in the garden, the bed has taken the appearance of Mānī’s Artang⁹. But is Majnūn’s¹⁰ eye in the cloud, since the flower has taken the hue of Leila’s¹⁰ face? The tear (i.e. dew-drop) that has taken refuge in the tulip resembles wine in a jade cup. The fresh daffodil has taken on the character of the crest of Chosroes’ crown of gold and silver. Like a Christian monk the violet has put on a violet dress. Has it adopted the Christian faith?”

The identical element is *-ī gereft*, and the rhyme arrangement is seen to be aa xa xa xa xa¹¹.

§141 This arrangement is common to the *غزل qazal* and the *قصيده qaside*. (Note the plurals *غزليات qazaliāt* and *قصائد qasā'ed*.)

The *qazal*—we might translate it “sonnet” or “elegy”—is a short poem, rarely longer than fifteen *abyāt*¹², with a lyrical or emotional content as in the above example. “It is a marked feature of the form that the several *abyāt* stand in no direct relationship to one another, so that they might be arranged in any order without affecting the general sense of the poem. All the same, although there may be no definable connection between the individual *abyāt*, these ought never to be out of harmony with one another, and a single tone of mind should run through a whole poem”¹³.

8 -ā has been changed to -ī for the sake of rhyme. See below §146.

9 The name of a wonderful book of paintings given to the prophet Mānī by the angels.

10 Celebrated pair of Arabian lovers.

11 x should be understood as “no rhyme”.

12 Qazal no. 1940 in *kolliāt e šams* comprises no fewer than 82 *abyāt*, but many would not call it a *qazal*.

13 The formulation is that of E.J.W. Gibb. See his *History of Ottoman Poetry* vol. I, p. 82 (London 1900).

The *qasīde*, which we might translate “ode”, is a longer poem. It is rarely less than twenty *abyāt* and it may extend to as many *abyāt* as the ingenuity of the poet allows, sometimes more than a hundred and fifty. The “standard” *qasīde* begins with a lyrical or erotic portion, but ends up with praising the poet’s patron and begging his favours. However, the *qasīde* may have any subject matter, mystical, didactic, epic, etc. The introductory portion of a *qasīde* is very much like a *qazal*—and therefore often called *تاغزل taqazzol*—but without its discursiveness, that is, one cannot change the order of its *abyāt* without affecting the sense. (The reader may experiment with the order of the *abyāt* of the *qazal* quoted in §140 and the *taqazzol* quoted in §147.)

The term *qasīde* is derived from *قصد qasd* “purpose”, so E.J.W. Gibb and E.G. Browne translate it “purpose poem”, and *qazal* literally means “love-making”, but as both are defined by form rather than by content, they are better left untranslated, and we shall therefore use the Persian terms *qazal* and *qasīde*.

A poem with the same arrangement of rhyme as the *qazal* and the *qasīde*, but consisting of only two *abyāt* is called a *دوبیتی dobeiti* literally “two-liner”; we might translate it “epigram”, but as with *qazal* and *qasīde* we shall leave this as well as the rest of the terms in this chapter untranslated and employ the Persian forms. The *رباعی robāʿī*, the so-called “quatrain” is a famous variety of the *dobeiti*; it will be described in §§255-260.

§142 As mentioned in §139 the *mesrāʿ* of the *masnavi* normally comprises eleven syllables. For the *qazal* and the *qasīde* there is no such restriction. The *mesrāʿ* may have anything from sixteen to as few as six syllables, though poems with less than ten syllables in the *mesrāʿ* are rare. Very rarely the *mesrāʿ* may extend to twenty syllables as in the example in §262.

§143 It should be noticed that in the first *beit* of a *qazal* or *qasīde* both *mesrāʿ* rhyme. A poem where this is not the case, i.e. where the rhyme arrangement is *xa xa xa xa.....*, is called a *قطعه qeṭʿe* “fragment”, since it is *formally* like a *qazal* or a *qasīde* without the opening line. The *qeṭʿe* may have almost any subject, but should confine itself to that subject and not be discursive like the *qazal*. The reader is referred to Saʿdī’s *golestān*, where he will find examples on almost every page.

It must not be forgotten that the distinction between *qeṭʿe* and *qazal* is in the last resort a formal one. A discursive poem with the rhyme

arrangement *xa xa xa....* is still called a *qetše*, and a *qazal* may have a firm structure which does not admit of any change in the order of *abyāt*¹⁴.

§144 Other rhyme arrangements, though not very common, do occur. For example, *aa xa xa....xa bb cc xc xc....xc bb dd xd xd....xd bb ee xe....* etc.; *aa aa aa....aa bb cc cc cc....cc bb dd dd dd....dd bb ee ee....* etc.; these two rhyme arrangements are called *ترجیع بند tarjīšband* "return-tie" provided *bb* is a refrain which *returns* every time the rhyme changes. *aa xa xa....xa bb cc xc xc....xc dd ee xe xe....xe ff gg xg....* etc.; this arrangement is called *ترکیب بند tarkībband* "composite tie". *aa...ab cc...cb dd...db ...* etc.; *aa...aa bb...ba cc...ca dd...dd* etc.; these two arrangements are called *مسمط mosammat* "pearl-stringing" provided each section is of equal length.

A detailed description of all these verse forms is outside the scope of this work. The reader may refer to E.G. Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 22-89, or better still to Jalāl Homāi's work on the subject, pp. 93-221. (See above §129 footnote.). Jan Rypka's short description of "the outward form (of Classical Persian poetry)" in his *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 91-99, is packed with concentrated information, but it is nevertheless insufficient for the advanced student, and it is too difficult for the beginner¹⁵. As a first introduction to the subject nothing can compare with the introductory volume of E.J.W. Gibb: *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, which has been reprinted by Luzac in London and is still available¹⁶.

It must be remembered that all the above verse forms and indeed all Classical Persian poems whether comprising two *abyāt* or fifty thousand have the same rhythm from the first to the last *beit*.

* * *

§145 The pronunciation of long *ā* in Arabic is flat [æ:] and quite different from the Persian *ā*. In some Arabic dialects the long *ā* has an even more flat or rather closed articulation [ɛ:], which made it liable to be identified with the Classical Persian *majhūl* vowel *ī* (pronounced *ē*). A well-known instance of this is the Arabic conjunction *ولكن valākin* or *لكن lākin* "but",

¹⁴ This is not so in Ottoman poetry, see Gibb, op.cit. p. 87.

¹⁵ Dordrecht 1968 (pp. 92-101 in the German version, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959).

¹⁶ The reader is warned that some of the technical terms are employed by the Turks (and by Gibb) in a way different from that of the Persians, notably the terms *mosammat*, *حسن مطلع hosn e matlaʿ* and *حسن مقطع hosn e maqtaʿ*.

which has been borrowed into Persian as *valīken* or *لیکن līken*, the former often abbreviated to *valīk* or *ولی valī*.

The Persian poets have exploited this quality of Arabic *ā* to let it rhyme with *ā* as well as with *ī*. The change of *ā* to *ī* is called *emāle* *اماله* "inclination (towards the sound of *ī*)".

نه هر جا که بینی خطی و لیریب توانی طمع کردنش در تیب

na har jā ke bīnī xat ī del- ferīb
tavānī tamaṣ kar- današ dar ketīb

"Not everywhere that you see a charming line¹⁷ can you hope (to include) it in (your) book". Saḥdī

§146 A different variety of *emāle* is to substitute *-ī* (not *-î*) for a final *-ā* indicated by *ی* with or without *alef e maqsūre*¹⁸, as in the poem quoted in §140, where *ma`vā*, *leilā*, and *kasrā* have been changed to *ma`vī*, *leilī*, and *kasrī* so as to rhyme with *mānī*.

Occasionally a final *-ā* indicated by *alef* as in *دنيا donyā* "world" may be changed to *ی -ī* for rhyme's sake. Thus in the same poem *ترسا tarsā* "Christian" has become *ترسی tarsī*. The effect is to my ear not very pleasing.

The opposite change, the change of *-ī* to *-ā*, is never met with. In the poem in §140 five final *-ā*'s have been changed to *-ī*'s for the sake of just one final *-ī*. The change of *mānī* to *mānā* would be unthinkable.

EXERCISE: Before proceeding to the second part of this book the student is advised to read through and scan some hundred *ahyāt* from a poem written in *bahr e motaqāreh*, for example *būstān e saḥdī*, so as to become completely familiar with the mechanisms which bring about the rhythm.

It will be noticed that knowledge of prosody often helps one to read and understand the text correctly. Thus the following lines from *būstān*

بدل گفتم از مصرقت آوزند بردوستان ارمغانی برند
مرا گرتی بود از آن قند هست سخنها می شیرینتر از قند هست

¹⁷ *xat* also means "the down on the cheek of a youth", so that this *beit* means both that you cannot note down *all* beautiful lines of poetry in your notebook and also that you cannot form friendship with *all* beautiful youths whom you meet.

¹⁸ Cf. §127.

might by some one unacquainted with prosody well be read

*be del goftam az mesr qand āvarand
bar dūstān armaqāni barand
marā gar tohi bovad az ān qand dast
soxanhā ye širīntar az qand hast.*

However, the prosody shows clearly that the correct reading is

<i>be del gof-</i>	<i>tam az mes-</i>	<i>r' qand ā-</i>	<i>varand</i>
<i>bar ē dū-</i>	<i>s'tān ar-</i>	<i>maqāni</i>	<i>barand</i>
<i>marā gar</i>	<i>tohi bū-</i>	<i>d az ān qan-</i>	<i>d' dast</i>
<i>soxanhā</i>	<i>ye širīn-</i>	<i>tar az qan-</i>	<i>d' hast</i>

"I said to myself (lit. heart), from Egypt (people) bring sugar (and) take (it) as a gift for their friends. Though my hand was empty of that sugar, (at least) I have words sweeter than sugar".

APPENDIX TO PART ONE: LIST OF PASSAGES QUOTED

From Ferdousī's *šāhnāme* (crit. ed. Bertels a.o. Moscow 1966-1971):

	Page	Verse number	Quoted in §		Page	Verse number	Quoted in §
Vol. I:	22	142	48		23	164	54
	31	48	118		31	59	90
	32	63	80		32	64	112
	32	72	75		38	42-43	65
	39	8	110		40	14	83
	41	35	82		42	54	95
	43	68	116		43	73	101
	49	173	84		51	4	89
	52	31	87		60	164	75
	60	169	79		61	181	79
	62	203 ¹³	79		75	424	84
	79	4	90		80	16	90
	83	71	90		87	143	101
	88	145	101		88	155	48
	97	302	103		99	327	112
	102	385	131		103	409 ¹⁵	84
	115	603	77		136	22	111
	164	424	108		174	583	44
	187	804	95				
Vol. II:	64	34 ⁸	64		66	60 ³	61
	67	73	54		67	83 ¹³	65
	212	541 ⁶	111		236	882 ¹⁵	36
	236	883	36		238	902 ^{2,3}	39
	239	921	31		256	IV,8 ⁸	36
Vol. III:	6	5 ⁸	54		7	16 ⁷	101
	7	17	102		202	3078	54
Vol. V:	6	5	112		10	61	78

	Page	Verse number	Quoted in §		Page	Verse number	Quoted in §
	20	206	80		24	270	54
	28	342 ⁷	77		86	4	65
	88	36	80				
Vol. VI ¹⁹ :	71	86	97		72	106	89
	78	194	116		79	214	60
	79	215	65		80	222	87
	94	420	101		104	573	80
	110	651	108		125	864	111
	402	371	79				
Vol. VII:	81	1367	127		190	612	102
	316	202	102		316	208	108
	373	1197	111				
Vol. VIII:	146	1556 ⁸	44				
Vol. IX:	207	3328	79				
Also from <i>šāhnāme</i> , but quoted after Jules Mohl's edition (Paris 1838-1878):							
Vol. II:	85	1154	74		284	97	60
	318	903	90				
Vol. VI:	141	1452	45				
Also from <i>šāhnāme</i> , but quoted after J.A. Vullers: <i>Firdusii liber regum</i> (Leiden 1877-1884):							
Vol. I:	304	69 ¹	74				
Vol. II:	823	918	90		990	509	55
From Nezāmī's <i>eskandarnāme</i> :							
Vol. I <i>šarafnāme</i> (crit. ed. ṢAlizāde, Baku 1947):							
	183	118-119	97				
Vol. II <i>eqbālnāme</i> ²⁰ (crit. ed. Bābāyof, Baku 1947):							
	3	4 var.	60		192	28 var.-29	129

19 The first ten quotations in Vol. VI are from the section of *šāhnāme* believed to be the work of Daqīqī.

20 More correctly *xeradnāme*.

Page	Verse number	Quoted in §	Page	Verse number	Quoted in §
193	56	102	194	72	130
195	76-80	138	196	97 var.	134
198	8	136	198	18	136
199	28	133	200	46-47	90
201	62	87	201	71	133
227	17	98			

From Saʿdī's *būstān* (crit. ed. Rostam ʿAlīyof, Teheran 1968):

3	16	94	5	10 ¹²	126
5	11	69	7	10	146
8	3	77	77	12	99
96	8	98	109	4	110
110	9	127	183	10	98
190	3	98	209	12 ¹⁹	145

The *beit* from Mostoufī's *zafarnāme* in § 128 is quoted after E.G. Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. III, page 96 (Cambridge 1928).

From Moulavī's *masnavī ye maʿnavī* (ed. Mīrxānī, Teheran a.h. 1374):

1	7	100	2	19	112
300	6	126			

From Parvīn Eʿtesāmī's *divān* (Teheran 1974):

238	62	127
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From Z. Safā's anthology *ganj e soxan* (Teheran 1961):

Vol. I:	23	11	59	(Bū Šakūr)
	30	5-6	71	(Daqīqī)
	56	5-9	140	(Rābeʿe)
	70	2	103	(Ferdousī ²¹)
	165	8	68	(Asadī)
	209	5-6	111	(Azraqī)
Vol. II:	97	3	82	(Sanāʾī)

In addition to the above quotations more than a hundred single words have been quoted from *šāhnāme* in Chapter XII, together with references to the verses where they occur.

21 This *beit* is not from *šāhnāme*.

PART TWO

THE RHYTHM

For rhetoric, he could not ope
His mouth but out there flew a trope;
And when he happened to break off
I' th' middle of his speech, or cough,
H' had hard words, ready to show why
And tell what rules he did it by:
Else, when with the greatest art he spoke,
You' d think he talked like other folk;
For all a rhetorician's rules
Teach nothing but to name his tools.

Samuel Butler

1

HOW TO ASCERTAIN THE RHYTHM OF A GIVEN POEM

§ 147 In a way this work could end here. The student who has mastered the contents of Part One can, with the help of the rules given there, ascertain the rhythm of any Classical Persian poem. There are, it is true, a few additional rules which he has to know, but they could easily be deduced without guidance¹. Those who study prosody in order that it may help them to read and understand the poems correctly, but do not care about classifying and naming the various rhythms, and consider it unessential to know which rhythms are preferred by which poets and for what genre, need not read beyond § 172.

We shall now show how one can find out the rhythm of any poem or fragment of a poem which one may come across.

Consider the following lines by فرخی سیستانی Farroxī ye Sīstānī:

ندانم تا چه دارد باز در سر	دلم در جنبش آمد بار دیگر
بلائی خواهد آوردن بمن بر	همانا غشقی اندر پیش دارد
از این شوخی بلا جوئی ستمگر	بگرد تا کجا بیسند بگیتی
مرا از رامش و از خواب و از خور	بر او مهر آرد و بیرون بر دیاک
مرا باری زد دل باشد همه شر	زدلها مردمان را خیر باشد
دل شایسته که فروشد بگوهر	کجا یابم دلی اندر خور خویش
دل بدر برون اندازم از بر	دلی ز این پس بهر نرخی بخرم

¹ These rules are given below. See §§ 150, 152, and 156-158.

Looking at the first *mesrāʿ* we find that it may be scanned in the following ways:

delam dar jombeš ^{*āmad*}_{*āmad*} *bār* ^{*e*}_{*ē*} *dīgar* Cf. §§44-45 and 54.

◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

“My heart has once more become restless (lit. come into movement)”.

It is seen that the first *mesrāʿ* unambiguously shows the quality of all syllables except the fifth and the ninth. The quality of these two syllables may be found by comparison with the rest of the poem². The second *mesrāʿ* can be scanned in the following ways:

nadānam tā ^{*ce*}_{*cē*} *dārad bāz*³ *dar sar* Cf. §§62 and 65.

◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

“I do not know, what it (c: the heart) again has in mind”.

It is now clear that the ninth syllable is short. For the fifth syllable we need further material.

hamānā ^{*šešqi*}_{*šešqī*} *andar pīš*³ *dārad* Cf. §§89 and 90.

◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

“Surely it has love ahead”.

The fifth syllable is still ambiguous.

*balā ī x*³*āhad* ^{*āvordan*}_{*āvordan*} *bē man bar* Cf. §§44 and 45.

◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

“It will bring calamity upon me”.

Still no result for the fifth syllable.

begardad tā kojā binad bē gīti

◡ — — — ◡ — — — ◡ — —

“It roams till it sees somewhere in the world ...”

2 Even if we possessed only the first *mesrāʿ* of this poem, it would still be possible to find out the rhythm. See below §§159-168.

3 In the literary tradition this word is often pronounced *āvardan*. However, *āvordan* is not only common in the colloquial language, but also etymologically correct.

The rhythm is now clear⁴. Keeping in mind the definition of the *rokn* as a recurring section of the rhythmical pattern⁵, we may subdivide the rhythm as follows ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — —. It remains only to be seen whether the rest of the poem does follow this rhythm. For the next three *abyāt* all goes well:

<i>az ī" šūx ī</i>	<i>balājū ī</i>	<i>setamgar</i>
<i>bar ū mehr ā-</i>	<i>rad ō bīrū"</i>	<i>barad pāk</i>
<i>marā az rā-</i>	<i>meš ō az x"ā-</i>	<i>b o az x"ar</i>
<i>ze delhā mar-</i>	<i>domā" rā xei-</i>	<i>r' bāšad</i>
<i>marā bārī</i>	<i>ze del bāšad</i>	<i>hamē šar</i> ⁶
<i>kojā yābam</i>	<i>del ī andar-</i>	<i>x"or ē x"iš</i>
∪ — — —	∪ — — —	∪ — —

"... a tyrant, someone terribly capricious (lit. more capricious than this), and always in trouble (lit. misfortune-seeker). On him it bestows its love and removes me completely from rest and sleep and food. From their hearts people receive good (lit. there is good to people); I for my part receive bad from the heart. Where can I get a heart worthy of myself?"

The next *mesrā* apparently does not fit into the rhythm:

<i>del ē šāyes-</i>	<i>tē ke forūšad</i>	<i>bē gouhar</i>
∪ — — —	∪ ∪ ∪ — —	∪ — —

"Who sells a decent heart for jewels?"

The second *rokn* will only fit the metre if we read

<i>del ē šāyes-</i>	<i>tē ke frūšad</i>	<i>bē gouhar</i>
∪ — — —	∪ — — —	∪ — —

This is one of the rare instances where one of the many initial consonant clusters of Pahlavī has survived into early Persian verse. (Farroxī died in 1037 A.D.—killed by a *setamgar e balājū wo šūx*.) Cf. §§106-107 and also 152 end.

The next *mesrā*, too, gives slight trouble:

<i>del ī z ī" pas</i>	<i>bē har nerx ī</i>	<i>bexaram</i>
∪ — — —	∪ — — —	∪ ∪ —

"Hereafter I shall buy a heart at any cost".

4 This metre is treated in §§194-196.

5 See §28.

6 For *šarr*, cf. §110.

Here the last *rokn* must be scanned *bexarram* ∪ - -, cf. §112.

The last *mesrāʿ* gives no problems:

del ē bad rā borūn andā- zam az bar
 ∪ - - - ∪ - - - ∪ - -

“I will throw (my) bad heart out from my breast”!

§148 Now consider this somewhat more difficult *qetʿe*⁷ by the same poet.

نه بیدار و بدینار و بسود و بریان نشود خرد بید گفتن بهمان و فلان نشود کند و نکرد و هفت تیغ نهان نشود تیره و افروخته باشد بمیان نبرد بند و قلاده شرف شیرریان شرف بازی از باز فکندن توان	شرف و قیمت و قدر تو بفضل و هنر است هر بزرگی که بفضل و هنر گشت بزرگ گرچه بسیار بماند بنیام اندر تیغ و رچه از چشم نهان گردد ماه اندر تیغ شیر هم شیر بود گرچه برنجیر بود باز هم باز بود گرچه که او بسته بود
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The first *mesrāʿ* can be scanned in the following ways.

$\dot{s}araf \overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}} qeimat \overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}} qadr \overset{e}{\underset{\bar{e}}{\cup}} \overset{10}{\underset{1\bar{0}}{\cup}} b\bar{e} \overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}} fazl \overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}} honar \text{ ast}$ Cf. §§ 54, 62, and 74.
 ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ -

“Your honour and worth and value is in your virtue and skill ...”

Here no less than five syllables are ambiguous. Comparison with the following *mesrāʿ* will reduce this number considerably:

na b\̄e didār o b\̄e dinār $\overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}}$ b\̄e sūd $\overset{0}{\underset{0}{\cup}}$ b\̄e ziān
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -

“... not in appearance nor in riches nor in business (lit. profit and loss)”.

Now only the ninth and the twelfth syllables are ambiguous. It is true that also the fifth syllable in this *mesrāʿ* is ambiguous—*o* or *ō*—but we know already from the first *mesrāʿ* that the fifth syllable is short.

⁷ See §143.

har bozorg ī ke be fazl ō be honar gašt' bozorg

— ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —

“Every great (man), who has become great by virtue and by skill ...”

Now the quality of the ninth and the twelfth syllables is clear, but we have a new problem here, since the first syllable is unambiguously long. In the second *mesrāʕ* the first syllable could be reckoned long, *na:*, though this would be somewhat unusual⁸, but in the first *mesrāʕ* the first syllable is unambiguously short. A rapid glance at the poem shows us that of the initial syllables six are short, one is ambiguous, and five are long. We therefore must accept the coexistence of long and short in the first syllable of this rhythm, which we can then tentatively write as follows: ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —, and in spite of the somewhat confusing first syllable it appears reasonable to subdivide it into *arkān* as follows: ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —.

§149 This analysis is confirmed by the existence of an internal rhyme⁹ corresponding to the two first *arkān* of the second *mesrāʕ*:

na be dīdār

o be dīnār

The fourth *mesrāʕ* of the poem, too, has a sort of internal rhyme, as its third *rokn* rhymes with the main rhyme of the poem:

našavad xor-

d' be bad gof-

tan e bahmā-

n o felān

∪ ∪ — —

∪ ∪ — —

∪ ∪ — —

∪ ∪ —

“... will not become small by the slandering of so and so”.

It was mentioned in §28 that the final syllable of a *rokn* more often corresponds to the final syllable of a word than do other syllables of the *rokn*. Similarly, in §137 we were told that the final syllable of an internal rhyme practically always coincides with the final syllable of a *rokn*. It should be noted that these facts are to a certain extent obscured by the transcription used in this work, where in order to show the scansion clearly, the final consonant of a word is often separated from the word and transferred to the following *rokn*.

The above *mesrāʕ* might have been transcribed as follows:

našavad xord

∪ ∪ — —

be bad gof-

∪ — —

tan e bahmān

∪ ∪ — —

o felān

∪ ∪ —

This would correspond better to the way it sounds when recited by a Persian, and show more clearly the above-mentioned characteristics of the *rokn*, but the rhythmical structure would be less apparent.

§ 150 We might have arrived at the rhythm $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$ more easily by applying an important rule that states that three short syllables never occur together in a Classical Persian poem¹⁰. For the first line the following possible scansions were given $\cup \cup \underline{\cup} - \cup \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \cup - \underline{\cup} \cup \cup -$ (§ 148). These can by applying this rule be reduced to $\cup \cup - - \cup \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup \cup -$. Comparing this with the second *mesrāʿ* we would arrive at $\cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$ ¹¹.

§ 151 It remains to be seen whether the rest of the *qetʿe* follows the rhythm $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$. In fact it does not:

<i>garce besyā-</i>	<i>rʾ bemānad</i>	<i>bē niām an-</i>	<i>dar tīq</i>
- \cup - -	$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup - -$	- -

“Even if the sword remains long (lit. much) in the scabbard ...”

Here the last *rokn* is - - instead of $\cup \cup -$. It cannot possibly be read otherwise. It now seems that the rhythm of the poem is $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} -$.

<i>našavad kon-</i>	<i>d o nagardad</i>	<i>honar ē tī-</i>	<i>qʾ nehān</i>
$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup -$

“... it does not become blunt, and the sword’s skill does not disappear”.

<i>var ce az çeš-</i>	<i>mʾ nehān gar-</i>	<i>dad māh an-</i>	<i>dar mīq</i> ¹²
- \cup - -	$\cup \cup - -$	- - -	- -

“And even if the moon is hidden from the eye in a cloud ...”

We are now forced to change the third *rokn* from $\cup \cup - -$ to $\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} - -$. The rhythm now appears to be $\underline{\cup} \cup - - \cup \cup - - \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} - - \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} -$.

<i>našavad tī-</i>	<i>re wo afrū-</i>	<i>xʾte bāšad</i>	<i>bē miān</i>
$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup - -$	$\cup \cup -$

“... it does not become dark, and (i.e. but) is shining in the middle (of the cloud)”.

¹⁰ The prosodists do quote such verses, but they are never met with in literature proper.

See for example *al-moʿjam*, p. 134. (Ed. M. Qazvīnī, London 1909, hereafter referred to as *al-moʿjam*.)

¹¹ At this stage of the analysis a long ninth syllable cannot be altogether excluded.

¹² Note the additional rhyme *andar mīq* : *andar tīq* (cf. § 136). The rhyme arrangement of this remarkable poem is xa xa ba ba xa xa.

šīr^a ham šī- *r^a bovad gar-* *ce be zanji-* *r^a bovad*
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -

“The lion, too, *is* a lion, even if it is in chains”;

nabarad han- *d o qelādē* *šaraf ē šī-* *r e žiān*
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -

“Collar and chain do not take away the fierce lion’s honour”.

bāz^a ham bā- *z^a bovad gar-* *ce ke ū bas-* *te bovad*
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -

“The falcon, too, *is* a falcon, even if he is bound”;

šaraf ē bā- *zī az bā-* *z^a fegandan* *natavān*
 ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -

“The honour of falconhood one cannot cast away from the falcon”.

Not surprisingly, we now have to modify the second *rokn* as well. The rhythm of this *qetṣe* which is treated in §§211-212 is then seen to be
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - .

In the *malfūz* “pronounced” version (cf. §61) a long substituted for two shorts is by some changed back into two shorts. Thus, the *mesrāṣ*

var ce az ceš- *m^a nehāⁿ gar-* *dad māh an-* *dar mīq*

may in the *malfūz* version become

درمینگ دوماهن منهاگر وپ ازخیش
varce'azceš *monehāgar* *dadomāhan* *daromīq*

§152 The above poem teaches the following important rule: One long may always be substituted for two shorts¹³, except at the beginning of a *mesrāṣ* where instead a long may take the place of the first short, ∪ ∪ becoming - ∪.

This formulation of the rule is not quite exact: If the *mesrāṣ* begins with ∪ ∪ - -, then - ∪ - - may be substituted for this, but if the *mesrāṣ* begins with ∪ ∪ - ∪, then - - ∪ may be substituted for it. In other words, we have to distinguish the opening ∪ ∪ - - from the opening ∪ ∪ - ∪. Of these the former is by far the commonest. Examples of the latter are found in §§154, 172, and 248.

13 The substitution of - for ∪ ∪ is particularly common in the last *rokn* of a *mesrāṣ*. Indeed, here - is the rule and ∪ ∪ is the exception.

It is important to notice that this is a "one-way-traffic rule", i.e. (and initially - ˘) may be freely substituted for ˘˘, but ˘˘ can never be substituted for - (or - ˘). In other words, if in a given poem ˘˘ alternates with - (or initially with - ˘), then ˘˘ must be considered the basic rhythm.

Hence, it is not possible to scan the second *mesrāʿ* of the sixth *beit* in §147 as

del ē šāyes- te ke forūšad be gouhar
˘ - - - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - - ˘ -

for the basic rhythm is ˘˘˘˘˘. One could, of course, argue that the basic rhythm is ˘˘˘˘˘˘˘, but this would be contrary to the rule given in §150 (a: three short syllables are not allowed together).

§153 In the following lines *Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī* lists the five *masnavī*-poems which make up his *xamsə* "collection of five".

روشنائی ز مطلع الانوار شد شیرین و خسرو اندر جام شور محبتون و یلی افندی شرح راز سکندری کردی می نگاری صحیفه پنجم نام این هشت خانه هشت هشت	دادی اول گنبد دوار کردی آنگاه بانشاط تمام باز در عالم حسردمندی پس زبان پر دردی کردی و این زمان کاز جواهر انجم پس نویسم ز کلک مشک شربت
--	--

The first *mesrāʿ* may be scanned in the following ways:

dādi aval be gombad e davār
dādi avval ē davvār
 - ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘ -

Cf. §§90, 110, and 54.

"First, you¹⁴ gave to the revolving vault ..."

The next *mesrāʿ* apparently removes all ambiguities and makes the rhythm clear:

¹⁴ The poet is addressing himself.

roušanā`ī ze matla`o l-`anvār

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — —

“... light from ‘The Rising-place of Lights’¹⁵”.

But the next *mesrā`* shows a variation:

kardi ā`gāh` bā našāt ^ē tamām

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪

“Then with complete joy you poured (lit. did) ...”

The end of this *mesrā`* cannot be two longs, but as we saw in the previous paragraph, one long may be substituted for two shorts. We therefore read the *ezāfe* short and arrive at the following basic rhythm:

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

The rest of the *abyāt* quoted follow this rhythm:

šahd e šīrīn o xosrov andar jām

bāz` dar `ālam ē xeradmandī

šūr e majnūn o leilī¹⁶ afkandī

pas zabā` por dor ē dari kardi

šarh e rāz ē sekandari kardi

v ī` zamā` k az javāher ē anjom

mīnegārī sahīfe yē panjom

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — —

“... the honey of ‘Šīrīn and Xosrou’¹⁷ into the cup. Again, you threw the agitation of ‘Majnūn and Leilā’¹⁸ into the world of letters (lit. of wisdom). Then you filled your mouth with pearls of Persian and explained the Alexandrian Secret¹⁹. And at this time when you are writing the fifth volume with jewels of stars ...”

Here follows a detailed description of the contents, after which Amīr Xosrou adds:

pas nevisam ze kelk e mošk`serešt

nām e ī` hašt` xāne hašt` behešt

— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

15 See §218.

16 Cf. §127.

17 See §195.

18 See §253.

19 Amīr Xosrou here alludes to his *masnavī* آینه سکندری *āine ye sekandari* “The Alexandrian Mirror”, see §180.

“Then let me write with the musk-mixed pen (و: pen dipped in ink) the name of these eight houses (و: chapters): ‘The Eight Heavens’²⁰”.

In §164 below, it will become clear that the rhythm is really:

و و - - و - و - و و -

This would also have become clear, had we read the continuation of the *abyāt* quoted, which as the reader will have guessed are taken from the exordium of *hašt behešt*.

It is not easy to see how this rhythm should be subdivided into *arkān*. This problem will be dealt with in §§226-230 where this and related rhythms are described.

§154 As a final illustration of the technique of ascertaining a rhythm we take *qazal* no. 6 from *divān e hāfez* (ed. Qazvīnī). The مطلع *matlaʿ* “opening verse” is as follows:

بملازمان سلطان که رساند این دعا که بشکریا دشاھی ز نظر مران که ا

be molāzemān e soltān ke resānad iḥ do ʿā rā Cf. §§54, 65, and 44-45.

و و - و - و - - و و - و - و - -

“Who will deliver this request to the attendants of the sultan”:

ke be šokr e pādešāhī ze nazar marān geḏā rā

و و - و - و - - و و - و - و - -

“(that) in gratefulness of (your) kingship, don’t drive away the beggar from (your) sight”.

Here the pattern has become clear already from the first *beit*. A perusal of the rest of this *qazal* will fail to show any variation from this rhythm, which is described in §248. It is a characteristic quality of Hāfez’ poems that it is very easy to find out their rhythms—another instance of *ravānī* “fluency”—indeed, the rhythm could have been deduced from the first *mesrāʿ* alone with a fair degree of certainty by bearing in mind the information given in §57 (*e* commoner than *ē*), §76 (*-ē* very rare, not used by Hāfez at all), and §51 (*in* commoner—and in Hāfez *much* commoner—than *īn*). By applying the method to be explained in §§159-168 below,

20 See §232.

the rhythm could have been deduced from the first *mesrāʿ* with absolute certainty.

§155 In practice, ascertaining the rhythm is not always so easy as the above examples may lead one to think. It has been assumed that the reader knows from the outset the correct interpretation, i.e., whether to have *ezāfe* or not, whether to interpret شکر as *šokr* “gratefulness” or *šakar* (or *šakkar*) “sugar”²¹, whether to understand بَلاَ زَمَان as *bē molāzemān* “to the servants” or *bē mollā zamān* “to the mullah time ...”. If one is not able to decide upon the proper interpretation at once, one has to reckon with all the various possibilities while trying to determine the rhythm. When comparison with the following *abyāt* has made the rhythm clear, one may then be able to eliminate a number of wrong interpretations.

Let us imagine that we have decided to read Nezāmī’s خردنامه *xeradnāme* “Book of Wisdom” or—as it is sometimes called—اقبالنامه *eqbāl-nāme* “Book of Good Fortune”²². The poem opens with the following *beit*:

خرد هر کجا گنجی آرد دید ز نام خدا سازد آنرا کلید

The first half of the first *mesrāʿ* is made up of the following letters: *xrd hr kj*. If the printing is not careful—it rarely is—we will not be able to tell where *d* belongs: *xrd hr* or *xr dhr* or perhaps *xrdhr*. There cannot be much doubt that *kj* means *kojā* “where”, but to the beginner *xr-d-hr* offers a number of bewildering possibilities: *xord har kojā* “the little one everywhere”, *xarad har kojā* “he buys everywhere”, *xerad e har kojā* “the wisdom of everywhere”, *xerad har kojā* “wisdom everywhere”, *xar e dahr kojā* “where (is) the ass of the age?”, etc. etc.

The corresponding section of the second *mesrāʿ* reads: *z n`m xd*. It is difficult to make anything out of this except *ze nām e xodā* “from the name of God” ۛ – ۛ ۛ –. This immediately eliminates most of the above alternatives and leaves us with *xarad har kojā* and *xerad har kojā*. Which of these should be preferred must be inferred from the context. In the end even the beginner will probably arrive at the following result:

21 A number of such misreadings are shown in *Acta Orientalia* 39, page 242, Copenhagen 1978.

22 *xeradnāme* is the second half of Nezāmī’s *eskandarnāme* “Book of Alexander”. The first half is called شرفنامه *šarafnāme* “Book of Glory”.

xerad har
ze nām ē

kojā gan-
xodā sā-

j ī ārad
zad ā" rā

padīd
kelīd

"Wherever wisdom finds a treasure, it makes of God's name its key"²³.

This *beit* is not very difficult, but one does come across baffling poems, which apparently have neither rhythm nor meaning. However, even the most difficult *qasīde* has some lines which are less difficult. So, if one cannot make anything out of the first lines, one should glance over the following lines, find some which one understands better and ascertain the rhythm on the basis of those lines. The knowledge of the rhythm may then enable one to read and interpret the first lines correctly.

§156 One more important rule of Classical Persian prosody should be carefully noted:

The sequence $\cup - \cup -$ may be substituted for the sequence $- \cup \cup -$, as in the following *beit* by بوسعيد بن ابی الخیر Bū Saʿīde bne 'Abe l-Xeir:

گفتار دراز مختصر باید کرد وز یار بد آموز خذر باید کرد

goftār e derāz" moxtasar bāyad kard
v az yār e badāmūz" hazar bāyad kard

$- \quad - \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad - \quad \frac{\cup \quad - \quad \cup \quad -}{- \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad -} \quad - \quad - \quad -$ ²⁴

"Long speech one should make short, and from a friend teaching evil one should keep away".

The alternation of $- \cup \cup -$ and $\cup - \cup -$ is very common in the middle of a *robāʿī* (see §§255 foll.) and extremely rare elsewhere, but it does occur as may be seen in the following *beit* by رودکی Rūdakī:

نیز ابانیکوان نماید جنگ فند شکر فریادنی خواسته نی سودمند

nīz" `abā²⁵nīkuā" nemāyadat jang" fand
laškar e faryād" nī x"ās'te nī sūd'mand

$- \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad - \quad - \quad \cup \quad - \quad \frac{\cup \quad - \quad \cup \quad -}{- \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad -} \quad - \quad \cup \quad -$

²³ For the sense cf. §219.

²⁴ The basic rhythm is $\cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad \cup \cup -$, see §§255 fol.

²⁵ See §121.

“Further, with beauties vain words²⁶ wage war for you. The army of lamentation (is) neither wanted nor useful”²⁷.

Instances of $\frac{\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}}{\cup-\cup-}$ other than *robāʿi* may also be seen in §§236 and 260.

§157 Very rarely an overlong syllable is found to coexist with a long one in the mathematical middle of a *mesrāʿ*. Such cases will be dealt with under their respective metres. See §§186-187, 223, 225, and 240.

§158 In pre-classical poetry a short syllable is sometimes elided or added at the beginning of a *mesrāʿ*, and other irregularities may also be met with.

چنان دانی کم خواتسار نیست یا شهر مرا جز تو یار نیست

conān dāni ke-m²⁸ xwāsʿtārʿ nīst

yā šahr e marā joz to yārʿ nīst

(-) - $\frac{\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}}{\cup-\cup-}$ $\frac{\bar{\cup}\cup\bar{\cup}}{\cup-\cup-}$

“Know thus, that I have no lover, or (even) have no friend in my country but you”.

خسروی Xosravi

This rhythm is dealt with in §242.

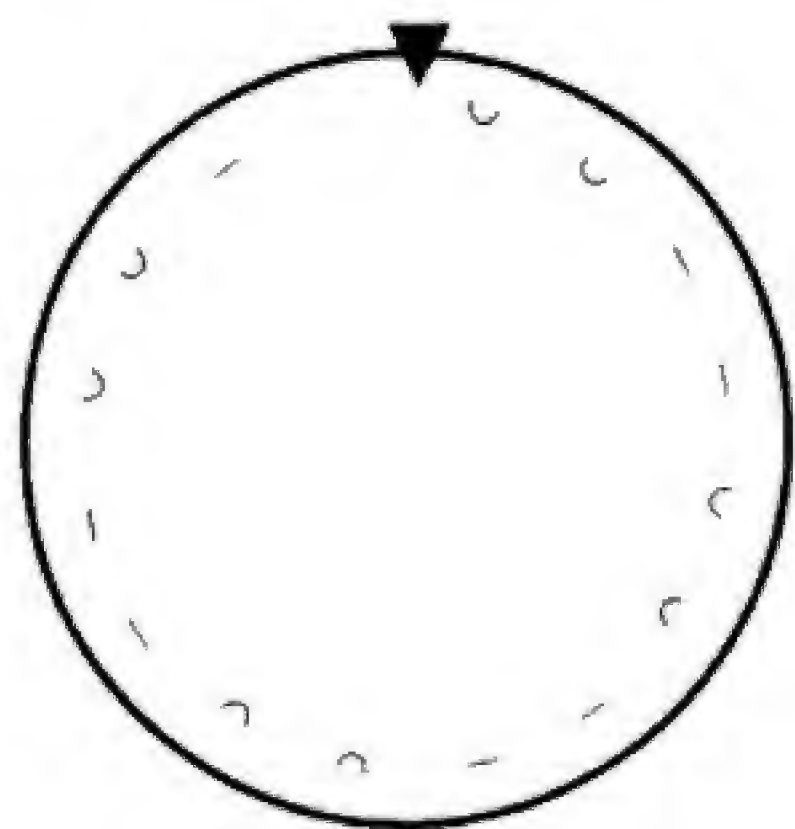
In classical poetry these irregularities are not met with and hence need not occupy us here.

26 Can also be translated “lie” or “deceit”.

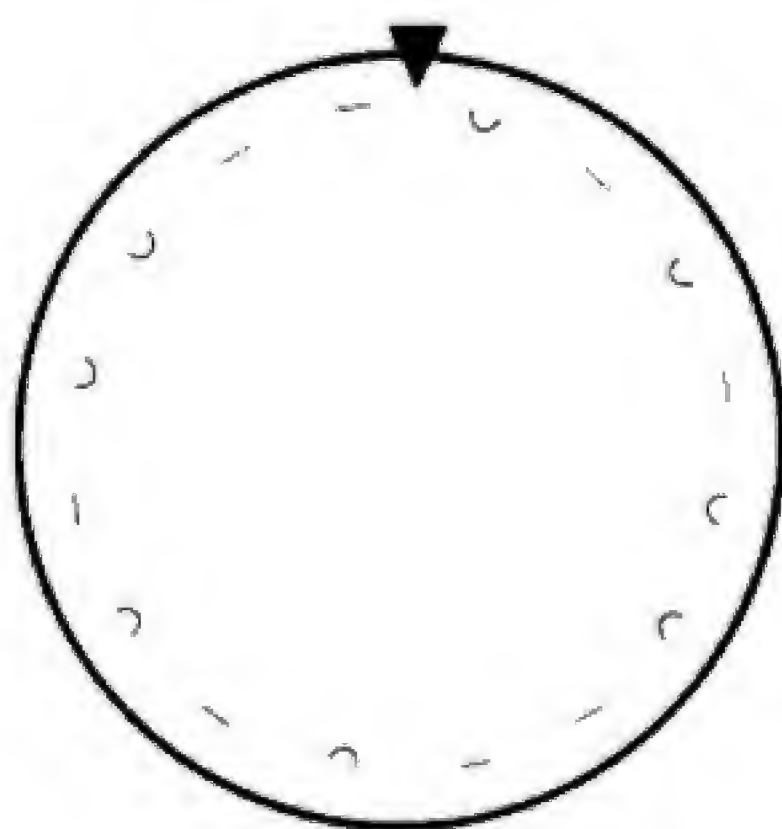
27 Cf. Elwell-Sutton, p. 125.

28 Or *k-am* Cf. §§79 and 101.

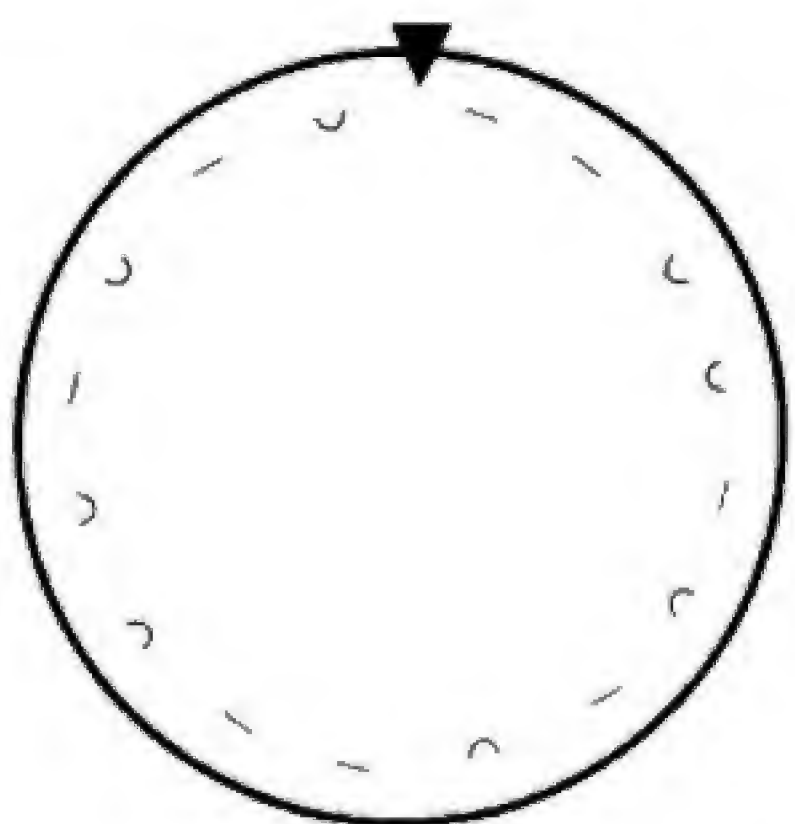
III:



IV:



V:



The "circles" should be read clockwise, beginning with the starting point at "twelve o'clock".

§162 Circles I, II and IV correspond to the fourth, first, and second circles of *al-moṣjam* (p. 71-72). Circles I and II were taken over from the Arabs; circle IV was discovered by Šams e Qeis, the author of *al-moṣjam*, himself. Circle III was discovered thirty years later by نصير الدين طوسی Nasīr od-Dīn e Tūsī in A.D. 1251. Circle V is nothing but circle IV read counter-clockwise⁴.

§163 Writers on prosody, ancient and modern, have invented a number of circles to account for the remaining metres⁵. Elwell-Sutton, too, who prefers to call his circles "tapes or ribbons of indefinite length" has added no fewer than nine circles to account for the remaining "0.1 % of the metres actually used by the poets"⁶, most of the additional circles being identical to circles found in Xānlari's earlier work on the same subject⁷.

4 Cf. Elwell-Sutton, pp. 75-79.

5 One of these circles is given in §243.

6 Elwell-Sutton, pages 86-87.

7 وزن شعر فارسی *vazn e šeʿr e fārsī*, Tehran 1958.

However, instead of adding to the number of circles, it is better to classify those very few poems which do not fit into the above five circles as exceptional rhythms. Those poems do not testify to the existence in the poetic tradition of rhythmical patterns other than those shown in the five circles above (with the sole exception of the rhythm treated in §§ 241-243); they only show that the individual poet is always free to choose any rhythm he wishes. He may compose a poem in a rhythm which no one else has ever used and which does not fit into any of the additional circles of the prosodists. An instance of this is given below. § 172.

§ 164 A couple of examples will show what is meant by “fitting the rhythms” into the circles:

bahr e motaqāreb (§ 27) may be obtained by counting eleven syllables forward from the starting point—“twelve o’clock”—of circle I: $\cup - - \cup - - \cup - - \cup -$.

By counting twelve syllables from the same point we get *bahr e motaqāreb e sālem* (§ 73): $\cup - - \cup - - \cup - - \cup - -$.

The rhythm of the examples quoted in §§ 147 and 82 second example may be obtained by counting eleven syllables from the starting point of Circle II: $\cup - - - \cup - - - \cup - -$.

If we begin our counting with the fourth syllable after the starting point of Circle II—“half past two”—and count eleven syllables forward we get the rhythm of the examples quoted in §§ 100, 112 last example, 126 second example, and 127 last example: $- \cup - - - \cup - - - \cup -$.

If we count fifteen syllables we get the rhythm of § 111 last example: $- \cup - - - \cup - - - \cup - - - \cup -$.

If we count fifteen syllables forward from the starting point of circle III, we obtain the rhythm of the example quoted in § 148: $\cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$. It should be noted that the circle shows only the basic rhythm, not the variations noted in § 152: $\cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$.

The rhythm of the example quoted in § 153: $- \cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup -$ does not fit exactly into any of the circles, but if we start our counting with the fifth syllable of circle IV—“a quarter past three”—we obtain a very similar rhythm: $\cup \cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup -$. Remembering the rule given in § 152, we take this as the basic rhythm and conclude that this *masnavi* follows the rhythm: $\cup \cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup -$.

Counting sixteen syllables forward beginning with the third syllable of circle V—“a quarter past two”—we get the rhythm of the example given in § 154: $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - -$.

§ 165 On the basis of these circles, Elwell-Sutton prefers to give the rhythms “code-numbers”.

rather than employing the traditional terms. Thus, the rhythms shown in the previous paragraph are labelled respectively: 1.1.11, 1.1.12, 2.1.11, 2.4.11, 2.4.15, 3.1.15, 4.5.11, 5.3.16.

5.3.16 means that you should take circle number *five*, begin your counting with syllable number *three*, and count *sixteen* syllables.

This method is quite ingenious, but unfortunately Elwell-Sutton tries to squeeze *all* possible rhythms into the circles, by allowing certain sections of the circles to be jumped over or repeated. Thus we are told to accept that $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup -$ is a variety of circle V, and that $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$ is a variety of circle IV⁸.

The “code-numbers” of Elwell-Sutton will be given together with the traditional terminology in Appendix One. Cf. §§186 end and 245.

§166 If one has a short poem or a fragment of a poem too short to allow the rhythm to be ascertained by the method described in §§147-155, one can practically always find out the rhythm by comparing with the above circles. Here follow a few *mesrāʿ*s of the type one is likely to read or hear quoted out of context.

گندم از گندم بر وید جو ز جو

This may be scanned in the following ways:

gandom $\frac{a\tilde{z}}{a\tilde{z}}$ *gandom* $\frac{her\bar{u}yad}{ber\bar{u}yad}$ *jou ze jou*

Cf. §§44-45, and 97.

— — — — — — — — — —

“Wheat grows from wheat, barley from barley”

Moulavī

This cannot fit anywhere but in circle II—begin with fourth syllable—the rhythm must therefore be: $- \cup - - - \cup - - - \cup -$. This rhythm is described in §§201-203.

هرگز نمیرد آنکه دلش زنده شد عشق

hargez namīrad $\frac{\bar{a}^n ke}{\bar{a}^n k\bar{e}}$ *delaš* $\frac{zend\bar{e}}{zend\bar{e}}$ *šod be ʕešq* Cf. §§44-45, 64 and 65.

— — — — — — — — — —

“Never dies he whose heart has become alive by love”.

Hāfez

This can only fit into circle IV—begin with the seventh syllable—so the rhythm must be: $- - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup - - \cup - \cup -$, which is described in §§237-238.

⁸ Elwell-Sutton, pages 87-89, 113 and 188.

عیب کسان منکر و احسان خویش

$\zeta eib \overset{e}{\bar{e}} kasā^{n} \overset{manegar}{\bar{o}} \overset{mangar}{\bar{o}} ehsān \overset{e}{\bar{e}} x^{w}j\check{s}$

Cf. §§ 54 and 102.

— — — — —

“Do not look at others’ faults and at your own goodness”. Nezāmī

Since three shorts cannot occur together⁹, this may be simplified to — — — — —. Except for the last syllable this fits with circle III counting eleven syllables forward from the fourth syllable: — — — — —. Remembering the rule given in §41 that the last syllable in a *mesrāʿ* is anceps, i.e. indifferent with regard to length, we interpret this section of circle III as — — — — —. This fits with the above rhythm, which is described in §216-219.

When comparing a *mesrāʿ* with the circles in order to ascertain the rhythm one should take the most *ravān* “fluent” version as one’s point of departure. Thus, in the first example above, since *az* is more *ravān* than *ʾaz* (§51) and *herūyad* is more *ravān* than *heruyad* (§97), one should first try to fit *gandom az gandom herūyad jou ze jou* — — — — —. Similarly in the second example where *ān*, *ke* and *zendē* are more *ravān* than *ʾān*, *kē* and *zendē* respectively (§§51 and 76) one should first try out *hargez namīrad ān ke delaš zendē šod be ešq* — — — — —. In the third example, since *e* and *o* are more *ravān* than *ē* and *ō* (§57), one should accordingly first test *zeib e kasāⁿ mangar o ehsān e x^wjš* — — — — —.

In all three examples the most *ravān* versions happen to be the rhythmical ones, but when this is not the case one has to try out the permitted rhythmical variations one by one. This job is less difficult if one follows an order of increasing *sangīnī* “heaviness”, cf. §76 end.

§167 It does happen, though rarely, that a line may be interpreted rhythmically in more than one way.

Consider the following *beit* by اخوان ثالث Axavān e Sāles.

درس تاریخ بمن مرده جان بخشی داد زور از بازوی سرمایه بد خواهد شد

$dars \overset{e}{\bar{e}} tārix^{n} be \ man \ mo\check{z}de^{10} \overset{ye}{\bar{y}} \overset{ye}{\bar{e}} jā^{w}baxš \bar{i} dād$

Cf. 54.

— — — — —

“The lesson of history gave joyful news to me: ...”

⁹ See §150.

¹⁰ Cannot possibly be scanned *moždē*, see §70.

zūr az bāzu ye sarmāye be dar x^wāhad šod Cf. §§ 45, 54, 64, 97.
zūr^a 'az bāzū yē sarmāyē

— () — — — — — — — — — —

“... ‘Power shall go away from the arms of the capital’. (o: the capitalists will lose their power)”.

Comparing this with the five circles, we find that two interpretations are possible:

either: *dars e tārix^a be man možde ye jā^bbaxš ī dād*
zūr^a 'az bāzu ye sarmāye be dar x^wāhad šod
 — — — — — — — — — —

or: *dars ē tārix^a be man možde ye jā^bbaxš ī dād*
zūr az bāzū yē sarmāye be dar x^wāhad šod
 — — — — — — — — — —

The first alternative fits into circle III beginning with the first syllable: — — — — — — — — — —. The second alternative also fits into circle III, but this time beginning with the fourth syllable — — — — — — — — — —.

However, the line

zūr az bāzū yē sarmāye be dar x^wāhad šod
 — — — — — — — — — —

is very heavy, so it is a fair guess, that the first alternative should be preferred.

§ 168 The reader may then look up these two rhythms in Appendix One and check with the references given there. This will show that the rhythm — — — — — — — — — — with its variants is very common, whereas — — — — — — — — — — with its variants is a very rare one.

This confirms our impression that the first rhythm is the correct one, but we cannot be absolutely sure till we find the poem from which the quotation is taken¹¹.

§ 169 Now consider the following *beit* by سلمان ساوجی Salmān e Sāvejī:

لب تو حامی لولو خط تو مرکز لاله شب تو حامل کوکب مه تو با خط ماه

11 The poem can be found in Axavān e Sāles: ارغنون *arqanūn* (Tehran 1345-48), p. 32.

lab ^{e to} *hāmi ye* *lo* ^{lo} *lo* *xat* ^{e to} *markaz* ^e *lālē*¹² Cf. §§ 54, 74, 90, 110.

∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

“Your lip (is) the protector of pearls (∩: teeth), your down the centre of tulips (∩: red cheeks)”.

The number of possibilities is bewildering and only slightly reduced by comparison with the second *mesrāʿ*:

šab ^{e to} *hāmel* ^e *koukab mah* ^{e to} *bā xat* ^e *hālē*¹² Cf. §§ 54, 74.

∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —

“Your night is carrying stars, your moon has the halo line”¹³.

This rhythm evidently fits into circle II: ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — — —, but it also fits into circle III: ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — —, and circle IV: ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —. As a matter of fact, this *beit* was composed on purpose so as to fit into several metres, in order that the poet might display his dexterity¹⁴. These three rhythms are treated in §§ 191-193, 210, and 227.

§ 170 A poem with a double rhythm, one which can be scanned throughout in two ways, is called *ذو البحرين* *zo l-bahrein* “having two metres”¹⁵. In most cases such poems sacrifice content for form with disagreeable results, but there are exceptions. The poet, *اهلی شیرازی* *Ahlī ye Širāzī*, has a mystical *masnavī*, 540 *abyāt* long, called *سحر حلال* *sehr e halāl* “Lawful Magic”. Not only is it *zo l-bahrein* and abounds in clever wordplays, but it also has passages of great beauty from the point of view of content.

¹² See § 41.

¹³ Wordplays make this *mesrāʿ* untranslatable. The night signifies the black hair; by star the lustre of the hair is intended. The moon which shines in the night is the beautiful face surrounded by black hair. *xatt* apart from the meaning “line” also means down of the upper lip or the cheeks (as in the first *mesrāʿ*), and since a halo round the moon is a bad omen, *hālē* has acquired the meanings: “author of evil”, “destroyer”, “corrupter”, “seducer”, so that the implied sense of the *mesrāʿ* becomes something like: “The down on the cheeks of your beautiful face framed by your glossy black hair is seducing”.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Homāi, op. cit. (§ 129 above), pages 80-81.

¹⁵ The example in § 169 ought to be termed *ذو البحور* *zo l-bohūr* “having several metres”.

تا شوی از مرگ خود ای خواجه میر

عاقبت ای دل همه یک سر گلیم

رحمت او بر سر غم خواری است

تا تو سوی صانع بچون پری

غلغل فی منکر و بین نایش

پیشتر از مرگ خود ای خواجه میر

خواجه در ابریشم و مادر گلیم

چرخ کی اندر سر غم خواری است

پیکرت آراسته حق چون پری

بگذر از این پیکر و بنیانش

<i>pīš'tar</i> (') <i>az</i>	<i>marg e x'od</i> (') <i>ei</i>	<i>x'āje mir</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45.
<i>tā šavī az</i>	<i>marg e x'od</i> (') <i>ei</i>	<i>x'āje mir</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45, and 90.
<i>x'āje dar</i> (') <i>ab-</i>	<i>rīšom ō mā</i>	<i>dar gelim</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45, and 54.
<i>šāqebat</i> (') <i>ei</i>	<i>del hamē yek</i>	<i>sar gelim</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45, and 64.
<i>carx' ^{kei} an- _{key}</i>	<i>dar sar ē qam-</i>	<i>x'āri ast</i>	Cf. §§ 54 and 95.
<i>rahmat ē ū</i>	<i>bar sar ē qam</i>	<i>x'āri ast</i>	Cf. §§ 54 and 98.
<i>peikarat</i> (') <i>ā-</i>	<i>rās'tē haq</i>	<i>cū" parī</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45, and 64.
<i>tā to sū-yē</i>	<i>sāne' ē bī-</i>	<i>cū" parī</i>	Cf. §§ 54 and 97.
<i>bogzar az</i> (') <i>ī"</i>	<i>peikar ō bī-</i>	<i>nāiaš</i>	Cf. §§ 44-45, and 54.
<i>qolqol ē nei</i>	<i>mangar ō bī"</i>	<i>nāiaš</i>	Cf. § 54 and 89-90.
- ~ -	- ~ -	- ~ -	

“Die (*mir*) before your death, oh heart (*xwāje*), so that you, oh heart, may become master (*mir*) of your death. The lord (*xwāje*) is in silk and we in goats’ wool (*gelim*). In the end, oh heart, we are all nothing but clay (*gel-īm*). Heaven (∅: fate) never (lit. when?) intends to show pity (*qam.x'ārī*). Its kindness following upon affliction (*qam*) is ignominy¹⁶ (*x'ārī*). God has embellished your form like (*cū"*) a fairy (*parī*) that you may fly (*parī*) towards the matchless (*bīcū"*) Creator. Pass on from this form and its appearance (*bināiaš*). Do not consider the sound of the reed-flute, but (lit. and) look at (*bīn*) its Player¹⁷ (*nāiaš*)”.

16 It is ignominy, because by accepting the kindness of fate to ourselves we tacitly accept its unkindness to others.

17 For the sense of the last *beit*, compare with the *beit* quoted in § 100.

These two rhythms are treated in §§201-203 and 216-219.

The student is advised to study these *abyāt* carefully. They will serve as a revision exercise, the more important rules of Part One being illustrated in them. Moreover, their beauty is of a type which cannot be comprehended either on the first or on the second reading, so that a careful study will also be rewarding from this point of view.

§171 In the following chapters all rhythms which are more or less commonly met with in Classical Persian literature have been described. It would be vain to aim at completeness. Even if one could read all the extant literature and describe all the occurring rhythms, a manuscript might yet turn up containing a *qazal* in a hitherto unseen rhythm, or a traditionalist might write one. For the poets are not restrained by the rules of the prosodists. They are free to create new rhythms and use them.

§172 The two *abyāt* below are taken from a mystical *masnavī* by شیخ بهائی Šeīx Bahāī called شیر و شکر *šīr o šakar* "Milk and Sugar". This *masnavī* comprises 150 *abyāt* and is written in a metre which I have not come across elsewhere in Classical Persian literature. It cannot be fitted into any of the five circles¹⁸, and moreover, although the *mesrāʿ* of a *masnavī* ordinarily comprises eleven syllables, in this one we find twelve syllables (cf. §139).

The rhythm is ˘˘ – ˘˘ – ˘˘ – ˘˘ –. As we know – may be substituted for ˘˘ even in the first *rokn* (§152). In the example below we see that in one *mesrāʿ* – is nowhere substituted for ˘˘, in one *mesrāʿ* – is substituted once, in one *mesrāʿ* it is substituted thrice, and in the last *mesrāʿ* – has been substituted for ˘˘ throughout:

بهدایت پیشروان وفا		یارب کبرامت اهل وفا	
اسد اسد اسد اسد		میگو با ذوق و دل آگاه	
<i>yā rah</i>	<i>bē karā-</i>	<i>mat e ah-</i>	<i>l e vafā</i>
– –	˘˘ –	˘˘ –	˘˘ –
<i>bē hedā-</i>	<i>yat e pī-</i>	<i>š'ravā-</i>	<i>n e vafā</i>
˘˘ –	˘˘ –	˘˘ –	˘˘ –
<i>mī gū</i>	<i>bā zou-</i>	<i>q o del ē</i>	<i>āgāh</i>
– –	– –	˘˘ –	– –

18 It does not fit into any of Elwell-Sutton's additional circles either, but cf. Xānlari, op. cit. (§163 above), p. 211.

*allā-**h allā-**h allā-**h allāh*

“Oh Lord! With the generosity of the faithful, (and) under the guidance of the leaders of Fidelity, keep saying with joy¹⁹ and a vigilant (or knowing) heart: ‘Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah!’ ”.

For the traditional classification of this metre, see §209.

EXERCISE: Determine the rhythm of the following *heit* by جامی Jāmī, and henceforth never read a line of Classical Persian poetry without ascertaining its rhythm.

برفت شوکت محمود و در زمانه نماند
جز این فسانه که شناخت قدر فردوسی

“The glory of Mahmūd is gone and nothing has remained in time except this anecdote that he did not recognise Ferdousī’s worth”.

19 According to Steingass *zouq* also means “distinction of truth and falsehood by the light of divine grace”.

METRES WITH THREE SYLLABLES TO THE *ROKN*
(THE FIRST CIRCLE)

بحر متقارب

§ 173 *bahr e motaqāreb* "the nearing metre"

According to the traditionalists the basic form of this metre is *faʿūlon*
— — — repeated four times in each *mesrāʿ* i.e. eight times in a *beit*, thus:

همی تا کند پیشه عادت همی کن	جهان مر جبارا تو مر صابری را
بچهره شدن چون پری کی توانی	بافعال مانده شو مری را
فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن	فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن

hamī tā
jahā" mar
bē cehrē
bē afʿā-
— — —

konad pī-
jafā rā
šodan cū"
l' mānan-
— — —

šē ʿādat
to mar sā-
parī kei
de šou mar
— — —

hamī kon
berī rā
tavānī
parī rā
— — —

"When (it) makes (it) a custom, make (it) a habit; (that is when) the world (makes) injustice (its custom, make) thou patience (thy habit). When canst thou become like a fairy in face? Become like a fairy in (thy) actions"!

ناصر خسرو Nāser Xosrou

§ 174 This metre is not very common. Examples of it may be found in GI 30, 48, 102, 182, 262, 288; GII 250, 283; GIII 273; H 492; S 577 (T -ad, *benāz*), 694 (T -ānī, *agar*), 816 (X -angī); M 494, 961-962, 1289, 2087-2088, 3116-3127, 3198.

(These abbreviations are explained in the following paragraph.) Another example was given in § 71. See also § 229 footnote 5.

§175 For each metre a number of references for further study is given. For this purpose the most widespread anthology of Persian poetry and the three most popular *divāns*¹ have been used. The anthology is Z. Safā's گنج سخن *ganj e soxan* "The treasure of Words" I-III, Tehran 1961—abbreviated GI, GII, GIII, references being to the pages.

The three *divāns* are those of Hāfez, Moulavī and Saʿdī. The standard editions of Hāfez and Moulavī have been used: Forūzānfar's edition of Moulavī called دیوان کبیر *divān e kabīr* "The Great Dīvān" I-X, Tehran A.H. 1336-46—abbreviated M, references being to serial numbers—and *divān e hāfez* edited by Qazvīnī and Qanī, Tehrān 1941—abbreviated H, references being to serial numbers.

So far no edition of Saʿdī has been produced that deserves to be called a standard edition. I have used کلیات سعدی *kolliāt e saʿdī* "Complete Works of Saʿdī" edited by Forūqī/Āštiānī, Tehran A.H. 1354—abbreviated S, references being to pages. Being aware, however, that many may not have access to this edition, I have after each reference indicated the section: Q (*qasāʿed e fārsī* "Persian Odes"), Mr (مرثی marāsi "Threnodies"), Ml (ملامعات *molammaʿāt* "Macaronic (Bilingual) Ones"), T (طیبات *ṭayyibāt* "Fine Ones"), B (بدایع *badāyeʿ* "Cunning Ones"), X (خواتیم *xavātim* "Gems"), Qq (غزلیات قدیم *qazaliāt e qadīm* "Old Sonnets"), H (هزلیات *hazaliāt* "Obscene Ones"); after this the rhyming element² has been given, and where this is not sufficient to identify the poem³, I have also indicated the first word(s).

References in italics refer to *masnaviāt*.

Apart from this the most important *masnaviāt* are mentioned expressly under their respective metres. For further information about these the reader is referred to Jan Rypka: *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968/*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959 — abbreviated Rypka, references being to pages (of the English and German versions before and after the shilling stroke respectively).

§176 As explained in §73, the above rhythm is called *bahr e motaqāreb e mosamman e sālem* "the sound eightfold nearing metre", generally referred to simply as *bahr e motaqāreb e sālem*. Other rhythms, in which the basic element is still the *rokn*, — — — *faʿūlon*, are considered to be variations of the same *bahr* "metre" (lit. "sea", note the plural بحور *bohūr*), thus *šāhnāme* is in the same *bahr* as the above *ahyāt* by Nāser Xosrou, but in a different *vazn* "rhythm" (lit. "weight", note the plural اوزان *ouzān*), being no longer *sālem* "sound", but *mahzūf* "cut off" or *maqsūr* "shortened". Cf. §§27 and 42.

However, the traditionalists group together in one *bahr* "metre" not only rhythms which are strikingly similar as e.g. *bahr e motaqāreb e sālem* (— — — — — — — —) and *bahr e motaqāreb e mahzūf* (— — — — — — — —), but also rhythms which have hardly anything in common. Thus the rhythms of Circle III and even Circle V are taken to be variations of the rhythms

1 The meaning and arrangement of *divān* is explained in §§264-267.

2 I.e. the identical portion, cf. §130.

3 The procedure is explained in §§264-265.

of Circle II. E.g. the rhythms -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- (Circle III) and -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- (Circle V) are classified as varieties of بحر هزج *bahr e hazaj* "the shaking metre", of which the basic form is ∪ --- ∪ --- ∪ --- ∪ ---.

In our classification we shall not follow this grouping of basically different rhythms into one and the same *bahr*. Nevertheless, for every rhythm treated the traditional name will be given and it will be explained by what mechanism the rhythm concerned is thought to be derived from the *sālem* "sound" one.

§177 Now consider the following two *ahyāt* taken from Hāfez's sole *qazal* in this *vazn*

دلم خون شد از غصه ساقی کجایی
که کوئی نبوده است خود آشنائی

نمی بینم از همدان هیچ برجای
رفیقان چنان عهد صحبت شکستند

namībi-

delam xūn

rafīqān

ke gūi

nam az ham-

šod az qos-

conān šah-

nabūdas-

damān hi-

se sāqi

d e sohbat

lst x^{wd} ā-

est bar jāy

kojāi

šekastand

šst nāi

"I do not see any of the friends (being) true. My heart has become heavy (lit. blood) with grief. Cupbearer! Where are you? The friends have broken the pledge of friendship, so that you would say, acquaintance itself has not existed".

It is seen that the last syllable of the first *mesrāʿ* of both *ahyāt* is overlong. As we have learnt in §41, this is perfectly natural. However, the traditional prosodist considers this a deviation from the standard rhythm. *šekastand* is not described as *faʿūlon* ∪ ---, but as *faʿūlān* ∪ ---, and the *mesrāʿ* is no longer *sālem* "sound", but *mosbaq* "made ample".

The complete description of this rhythm with the traditional terminology becomes rather complicated. The last *rokn* in the first *mesrāʿ* of a *beit* is called *šarūz* (lit. "rhythm")⁴. The last *rokn* of the second *mesrāʿ* is called *zarb* (lit. "beat"). Hence the *vazn* "rhythm" of the above lines is described as بحر متقارب مثنیٰ مسبق العروض و سالم الضرب *bahr e motaqāreh e mosamman e mosbaq ol-šarūz va sālem oz-zarb*.

Hereafter the special terms denoting overlong varieties of the final *arkān* will be ignored. They can however be found in Appendix One.

4 Cf. §§ 77-78.

5 The same word occurs in the term *šelm e šarūz* "the science of rhythm, prosody".

§178 By reducing the number of syllables of the standard metre to eleven—the number of syllables employed in *masnaviāt*⁶—we arrive at *bahr e motaqāreb e mosamman e mahzūf*, ordinarily just *bahr e motaqāreb*, the most well known of all Classical Persian metres. As this metre has been exhaustively described in Part One, no examples are needed here. Still I cannot refrain from quoting two *abyāt* which—taken from one of the two most famous works written in this *vazn*, namely Saʿdī's *būstān*—contain a *tazmīn* “quotation” from the other one, Ferdousī's *šāhnāme*:

چه خوش گفت فردوسی پاکر داد که رحمت بر آن تربت پاک باد
میا زار موری که دانه کش است که جان دارد و جان شیرین خوش است

ce x"qš gof-
ke rahmat
mayāzā-
ke jā" dā-

t" ferdou-
bar ā" tor-
r" mūr ī
rad ō jā-

si yē pā-
bat ē pā-
ke dānē-
n e širī"

k"zād
k" bād
kaš ast
x"āš ast

“How sweetly said the noble Ferdousī, (wherefore) may (God's) mercy be upon that pure tomb (of his): ‘Don't molest etc.’ (see §84)”.

§179 This *vazn* is first of all the rhythm of epic poetry⁷, and it is almost unthinkable that a Persian poet should write an epic poem in any other *vazn*, though, curiously enough, the first attempt to write a *šāhnāme* was not in this *vazn*⁸.

Ferdousī's *šāhnāme*, which has a secure place in world literature, has had innumerable imitations. The most outstanding among them is *zafarnāme* “The Book of Victories” in which Mostoufī in 75,000 *abyāt*⁹—one quarter longer than Ferdousī's work—continues *šāhnāme* down to the year 1332 A.D. Another able imitation is the much shorter *teimūrnāme* or *tamūrnāme* “The Book of Tamerlane” by هاتقی Hātefī (d. 1520), which comprises about 4,500 *abyāt*. Less remarkable imitations with more high-sounding titles are the works by احمد تبریزی Ahmad e Tabrizī (contemporary with Mostoufī), قاسمی Qāsemī (16th century) and فاث علی صبا Fath ʿAlī Sabā (d. 1822), all three entitled شاهنشاهنامه *šāhanšāhnāme*. Also زراتشتنامه *zarātoštnāme* “The Book of Zoroaster” by بهرام پژدو Bahrām e Paždū, the only Classical Persian

6 See §139.

7 Cf. Hermann Ethé: *Neupersische Litteratur*, pp. 229-255 (in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie II*, Strasburg 1896-1904). See also Z. Safā: حماسه سرایی در ایران *hamāse sarāi dar īrān*, Tehran 1324, and Ahmad ʿAlī Ahmad: تذکره هفت آسمان *tazkere ye haft āsmān*, Calcutta 1873, repr. Tehran 1965.

8 See §195.

9 One of these was given in §128.

work of note produced by a Zoroastrian, may be mentioned here. (Rypka 151-162/152-164, 165-166/168, 285 & 444 & 496/276, 326-327/313, 34/34.)

§180 Another chef d'œuvre of Persian literature written in *bahr e motaqāreh* is *esklārnāme* "The Book of Alexander", by *Nezāmī* (d. 1209). This work is not, as its title might lead one to think, merely an epos describing the legendary exploits of Alexander, but what might be called a philosophic-epic *masnavī*¹⁰. This work too has many imitations of which *āīne ye sekandari* "The Alexandrian Mirror" by *Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī* (d. 1325) approaches the original in literary merit. Also *xerādnāme ye sekandari* "The Book of Alexandrian Wisdom" by *Jāmī* (d. 1492) must be mentioned here. (Rypka 212/204, 287/277.)

§181 Another type of *masnavī* for which the *motaqāreh* metre is not infrequently used is the so-called *پند pand* "(moral) advice", and the fragments of *آفریننامه āfarīnmāme* "The Book of Praise (-worthy Conduct)"¹¹ written in 944-948 by *Bū Šakūr* are in this rhythm. The most famous work in this category is *Saʿdī's* great work *būstān* "The Fragrant Garden"¹², completed in 1257 (A.H. 655).

زشش صد فرون بود پنجاه و پنج که پر در شد این نامبردار گنج
ze šeš sad fozūn bū- d' panjā- h o panj
ke pordor šod īn nā- m'bordā- r' ganj

"It was fifty-five more than six hundred, when this glorious treasury became full of pearls". (Rypka 144/144, 250-253/241-245).

§182 Occasionally, especially by the earlier poets, *masnaviāt* with romantic or mystical content have also been written in this *vazn*. E.g. *ورقه و گلشاه varqe wo golšāh* "Leaf and Roseking" by *عیوقی ʿAyyūqī* (10th century), *یوسف و زلیخا yūsuf o zoleixā*¹³ attributed to *Ferdousī*, *فراقنامه Xʾājū ye Kermānī*, *خواجهی کرمانی* composed in 1332 by *homāy o homāyūn* *ferāqnāme* "The Book of Separation" composed in 1360 by *Salmān e Sāveji*, and *محیط اعظم mohit e aʿzam* "The Great Ocean" written in 1681 by *بیدل Bīdel*. (Rypka 177/175-176, 157-158/158-159, 260/253, 262/254, 518/407.)

Finally it must be mentioned that *Hāfez* selected this rhythm, which he does not employ elsewhere, for his short *masnavī* *ساقینامه sāqīnāme* "Song of the Cupbearer". This, too, has had many imitations, the prettiest of which is the *sāqīnāme* by *ظهیری Zohūrī* (d. 1615). (Rypka 262 & 265/254 & 258, 301 & 725/291.)

§183 Outside the *masnaviāt*, i.e. in *qasāʿed*, *qazaliāt* etc. the *motaqāreh* metre is not very common.

References: GI 18, 21-24, 35-40, 46, 56, 70-98, 127, 130, 164-171, 196-204, 271, 274, 298; GII 13-17, 158-160, 181, 218, 251, 294; GIII 10, 181-183, 189, 257, 312, 329-331; S 599 (T -ā ravand), 601 (T ūš būd), 763 (B -ard e man); M 239-240, 495, 1330, 2089-2090, 2251, 3128-3131, 3199.

¹⁰ Quotations in §§ 60, 87, 90, 97, 98, 102, 130, 133, 134, 136, 138.

¹¹ Quoted in § 59.

¹² Quotations in §§ 69, 77, 94, 98, 99, 110, 126, 127, 145, 146.

¹³ The Persians do pronounce زلیخا in this way.

§184 The following *abyāt* by ŠObeid e Zākānī (d. 1371) are written in a rhythm which is traditionally—and not without some justification—considered a variety of the *bahr e motaqāreb*:

مارا شکایت از آشنائی دیگر نبیند چشمش بلائے	دارد شکایت هر کس ز دشمن چشم عبیدار سیرش نبیند
---	--

dārad šekāyat

mārā šekāyat

çešm ē šobeid ar

dīgar nabinad

— — ∪ — —

har kas ze došman

az `āš`nā ī

sīraš nabinad

çešmaš halā ī

— — ∪ — —

“Everyone has a complaint against an enemy; our complaint is against a friend. If the eyes of ŠObeid do not look their fill at him, then his eyes do not see any misfortune (i.e. all other calamities are trifles beside the calamity of not seeing enough of one’s beloved—or he does not see any other misfortune because he dies of grief)”.

Remembering the definition of a *rokn* as a recurring section of a rhythmical pattern (§28), it is clear that each *mesrāʿ* can be subdivided into — — ∪ — —. This subdivision is by the traditionalists further analysed as — — ∪ — —, in the traditional terminology فعلن فعلن *faʿlon faʿūlon*. A glance at the above example shows that the traditional analysis with one exception (*az `ā-š`nā ī*) here agrees with the word divisions. As we shall see, other factors, too, speak in favour of this subdivision.

§185 Traditionally then this *vazn* is described as

فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن	فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن
---------------------	---------------------

faʿlon faʿūlon faʿlon faʿūlon

faʿlon faʿūlon faʿlon faʿūlon

— — ∪ — — — — ∪ — —

— — ∪ — — — — ∪ — —

and *faʿlon* — — is said to be an *aslam* “castrated” variety of *faʿūlon* ∪ — —. Hence this *vazn* is called *bahr e motaqāreb e mosamman e aslam* “the castrated eightfold nearing metre”.

One might object that this designation does not make it clear which of the *arkān* are *aslam* “castrated”. That is true: an exhaustive description must specify in which *arkān* the modifications

take place, and in order to understand such descriptions one has to know the traditional names of the several *arkān*.

The first *rokn* in the first *mesrāʿ* of a *beit* is called صدر *sadr* "breast, front part". Used in the dual, صدرين *sadrein*, this term indicates the first *rokn* of both *mesrāʿ*¹⁴. As we have seen (§177), the last *rokn* of the first and second *mesrāʿ* are termed سرّيز *ṣarūz* "rhythm" and زار *zarb* "beat" respectively. The dual ضربين *zarbein* designates the last *rokn* of both *mesrāʿ*. Whatever intervenes between *sadrein* and *zarbein* is termed حشو *hašv* "padding", the dual of which is حشوين *hašavein*.

Thus:



The complete description of this *vazn* is therefore *bahr e motaqāreḥ e mosamman e aslam os-sadrein va sālem va aslam ol-hašavein*¹⁵ *va sālem oz-zarbein*. However, as there is no *vazn* in ordinary use with which the above rhythm might be confused it is sufficient to say *bahr e motaqāreḥ e aslam*.

§186 This *vazn* does not fit directly into any of the circles. It is one of those *ouzān* which, as stated in §160, may be fitted into one of the circles—in this case Circle I—by the addition of just one short syllable in the (mathematical) middle of the rhythm. Moreover an examination of this and similar rhythms¹⁶ would reveal that the end of the second *rokn* always coincides with the end of a word and mostly with a break in the meaning, too. In other words, there is a pause or cæsure after the second *rokn*, i.e. in the (mathematical) middle of the *mesrāʿ*. If we imagine that this pause has the length of a short syllable, the similarity of this *vazn* and of the basic form of *bahr e motaqāreḥ* becomes striking:

bahr e motaqāreḥ e sālem: ˘— ˘— ˘— ˘—,

bahr e motaqāreḥ e aslam: — ˘— — ˘—.

Following Elwell-Sutton (p. 88), we term such *ouzān* "doubled metres"¹⁷ and indicate the cæsure (pause) by a vertical stroke:

— ˘— | — ˘—.

¹⁴ The first *rokn* of the second *mesrāʿ* is called ابتدا *chtedā* "beginning". Cf. §242.

¹⁵ Note that *sālem va aslam ol-hašavein* means that the first and second *rokn* of the *hašv* are *sālem* and *aslam* respectively. The order in which the terms are employed is important. (A *mesrāʿ* never contains more than four *arkān*, hence the *hašv* is never longer than two *arkān*).

¹⁶ See §§223, 235, and 240.

¹⁷ The traditional term is مكرر *mokarrar* "repeated".

Elwell-Sutton's "code-number" is 1.2.5(2), which means that we take Circle *One*, begin with the *second* syllable, count *five* syllables and repeat *twice*.

§187 In doubled metres an overlong syllable may coexist with a long syllable before the pause in the middle of the *mesrāʿ*¹⁸, as in the following *beit* by Hāfez.

حافظ چه نالی کرد وصل خواهی خون بایدت خورد درگاه و بگاہ

hāfez

ce nāli

gar vas-

l' x"āhī

— —

∪ — —

|

— —

∪ — —

xū" bā-

yadat x"ord

dar gā-

h o bīgāh

— —

∪ — —

|

— —

∪ — —

"Hāfez, why are you complaining? If you do want union (with the beloved) you must (be prepared to) suffer (lit. eat blood) in season and out of season".

One is tempted to say that in doubled metres each *beit* contains really four *mesrāʿ*, but this would be wrong for whereas overlong syllables are quite common at the end of a *mesrāʿ* in all *ouzān*, they are quite rare in the middle of a *mesrāʿ* in doubled metres.

Elwell-Sutton gives statistics for the occurrences of overlong syllables before the cæsure in the doubled metres (pp. 123-124). Note that when Elwell-Sutton says "following/violating pattern", the "pattern" is *not* the one of the rhythm in question, but the pattern of the "standard metre" from which the doubled metre is said to be derived. Therefore in certain metres Elwell-Sutton has classified those cases which do follow the rhythm of the doubled metre as "violating pattern" and vice versa. It is no coincidence that in these metres and no others the percentage of cases "violating the pattern" is larger than the percentage of cases "following the pattern".

§188 This *vazn*, *bahr e motaqāreh e mosamman e aslam*, is rare, and it should be noted that none of the doubled metres is very common.

References: GII 224; H 383, 417, 418; M 265, 964, 2091, 3132-3135, 3200-3201.

§189 So far we have come across five derivatives of *faʿala* (cf. §32) used to describe the rhythms of the individual *arkān*, namely *faʿūlon* ∪ — —, *faʿal* ∪ —, *faʿūl* ∪ —, *faʿūlān* ∪ — —, *faʿlon* — —. Once the student gets accustomed to them, he will find them very convenient for describing the various rhythms.

18 Cf. §157

For reference, we here give a list of all the *afāʿil* افاعيل, as they are called. They are given in a quasi-alphabetical order, the value *A* being assigned to ُ, and the value *B* being assigned to -. In parentheses are given *afāʿil* ending in overlong syllables. *afāʿil* marked with asterisks are rarely met with in Classical Persian prosody.

* ُ ُ ُ -	فعلتن <i>faʿelaton</i> (فعلتان <i>faʿelatān</i>)
ُ ُ -	فعلن <i>faʿelon</i> (فعلان <i>faʿelān</i>)
ُ ُ - ُ	فعلات <i>faʿelāto</i>
* ُ ُ - ُ -	مفاعلن <i>motaʿfāʿelon</i> (مفاعلان <i>motaʿfāʿelān</i>)
* ُ ُ - ُ - -	مفاعلاتن <i>motaʿfāʿelāton</i>
ُ ُ - -	فعلاتن <i>faʿelāton</i> (فعلاتان <i>faʿelātān</i> or فعليان <i>faʿeliyān</i>)
ُ -	فعل <i>faʿal</i> (فعول <i>faʿūl</i>)
ُ - ُ	فعولُ <i>faʿūlo</i>
ُ - ُ ُ	مفاعل <i>maʿfāʿelo</i>
* ُ - ُ ُ -	مفاعلتن <i>maʿfāʿelaton</i>
ُ - ُ -	مفاعلن <i>maʿfāʿelon</i> (مفاعلان <i>maʿfāʿelān</i>)
* ُ - ُ - -	مفاعلاتن <i>maʿfāʿelaton</i>
ُ - -	فعولن <i>faʿūlon</i> (فعولان <i>faʿūlān</i>)
ُ - - ُ	مفاعيلُ <i>maʿfāʿilo</i>
ُ - - -	مفاعيلن <i>maʿfāʿilon</i> (مفاعيلان <i>maʿfāʿilān</i>)
-	فع (فاع <i>fāʿ</i>)
- ُ	فعلُ <i>faʿlo</i>
- ُ ُ -	مفتعلن <i>moʿtaʿelon</i> (مفتعلان <i>moʿtaʿelān</i>)
* - ُ ُ - -	مفتعلاتن <i>moʿtaʿelāton</i>
- ُ -	فاعلن <i>fāʿelon</i> (فاعلان <i>fāʿelān</i>)
- ُ - ُ	فاعلات <i>fāʿelāto</i>
- ُ - -	فاعلاتن <i>fāʿelāton</i> (فاعلاتان <i>fāʿelātān</i> or فاعليان <i>fāʿeliyān</i>)
- -	فعلن <i>faʿlon</i> (فعلان <i>faʿlān</i>) ¹⁹
- - ُ	مفعول <i>maʿfūlo</i>

19 Often written فعلن (فعلان) to distinguish it from *faʿelon* (*faʿelān*).

-- ۛ ۛ	مستفعل <i>mostafʕelo</i>
-- ۛ --	مستفعلن <i>mostafʕelon</i> (مستفعلان <i>mostafʕelān</i>)
*-- ۛ --	مستفعلاتن <i>mostafʕelāton</i> (مستفعلاتان <i>mostafʕelātān</i>)
---	مفعولن <i>mafʕūlon</i> (مفعولان <i>mafʕulān</i>)
--- ۛ	مفعولات <i>mafʕulāto</i>

My first encounter with the *afāʕil* was in 1967, when I attended lectures on Ottoman poetry at the University of Ankara. These mysterious formulas exercised a strange fascination upon my mind and I felt that they were the *Open Sesame* of Oriental poetry. I have later learned that other orientalists, too, have felt a similar excitement when first confronted with the *afāʕil*, and it appears from the poems of *Moulavī* that he, too, was fascinated by them. Enjoying their sound he not rarely uses them in his poems with a sort of dadaistic effect (see *kolliāt e šams* e.g. lines 29996 and 34253). In one instance he gleefully mocks the *afāʕil*, closing a poem with the line (22518)

فعللن فعللن فعللن	مقتل	مقتلن مقتلن
<i>moftaʕelon</i>	<i>moftaʕelon</i>	<i>moftaʕel</i>
<i>faʕlalalan</i>	<i>faʕlalalan</i>	<i>faʕlalan</i>
-- ۛ --	-- ۛ --	-- ۛ --

بحر متدارک

§ 190 *bahr e motadārek* “the overtaking metre”

Before leaving Circle I mention should be made of *bahr e motadārek*, of which the basic element is a *rokn*, *fāʕelon* -- ۛ --. Poems in this *bahr* are very rare. نیا یوشیج *Nimā Yūšij* (1895-1958) has a quite well-known poem, افسانه *afsāne* “The Tale”, in a variety of *bahr e motadārek*. Cf. also § 209.

SLOW METRES (THE SECOND CIRCLE)

بحر هزج

§ 191 *bahr e hazaj* "the shaking metre"

The basic element in this *bahr* is the *rokn*, *mafāʿilon* ∪ — — —. In the standard version, *bahr e hazaj e mosamman e sālem*, this is repeated four times in each *mesrāʿ*.

شدم بر بام تنجانه در این عالم نداکردم	منم آن گیسو دیرینه که تنجانه بناکردم
که من آن کهنه بهتارا دگر باره جلاکردم	صلای کفر در دادم شمارای مسلمانان
مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن	مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن

manam ʿān gab- r e dīrinē
šodam bar bā- m e botxānē
salā yē koḡ- rʰ dar dādam
ke man ʿān koh- ne bothā rā

ke botxānē benā kardam
dar īn ʿālam nedā kardam
šomā rā ei mosalmānān
degar bārē jelā kardam

"I am that old infidel who built the idol temple. I went to the roof of the idol temple (and) proclaimed (it) in this world. I invited you, O moslems, to infidelity, (saying) that I had adorned anew those old idols". عطار. Attār

§ 192 In no metre is the subdivision into *arkān* (cf. § 28) more evident than in this metre. In the above example the final syllable of the *rokn* everywhere coincides with the final syllable of a word with just one exception (*koh-ne*). Examining e.g. the *qazal* by Hāfez beginning with

بخال هند ویش نجشتم سمرقند و بخارا را	اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آورد دل مارا
--------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

agar ʿān tor- k e šīrāzī
be xāl ʿe hin- duyaš baxšam

be dast ārad del ʿe mārā
samarqand ō boxārā rā

“If that Shirazi Turk would take our (o: my) heart into his hand (e.g. if he would make the least effort), I would give Samarqand and Bokhara for his black mole”!

—if not his best, at least his best-known *qazal*—we find that in a total of 72 *arkān*, it happens only five times that the last syllable of the *rokn* does not coincide with the last syllable of a word. In this *qazal* the use of internal rhyme, too, marks off the *arkān*. Thus in the second *beit*

بده ساقی

bedeh sāqī

rhymes with

می باقی

meṯ ē hāqī

“Give, O cup-bearer ...”

“... the remaining¹ wine”.

and in the last *beit*

غزل گفتی

qazal goftī

rhymes with

ودر سختی

yo dor softī

“You have said (o: composed) a *qazal* ...”

“and perforated a pearl”

§ 193 This *vazn* is quite common. It is the metre in which Sanā’ī (d. about 1130) composed his famous *qaside*

مکن در جسم و جان منزل که این دون است و آن والا

makon dar jes-

m o jān manzel

ke in dūn as-

t o ān vālā

“Rely neither upon body nor soul. For one is too low and one too high”.

References: GI 128, 236, 265, 275; GII 184, 198, 215, 264, 277; GIII 3, 31, 58, 89, 101, 103, 109, 121, 126, 163, 172, 174, 220, 283, 316; H 1, 3, 95, 115, 120, 121, 146, 149, 151, 153, 165, 194, 278, 288, 318, 327, 354, 356, 370, 374, 412, 440, 454, 474; S 447 (Q -am *gardad*), 511 (M1 -āqī), 581 (T -ān *dārad*), 609 (T -ān *āyad*), 626 (T -el, *agar*), 644 (T -ānam, *agar*), 645 (T -īnam, *ze dastam*), 657 (T -ārān, *do çeşm*), 660 (T -stan, *xelāf*), 669 (T -āī, *to az*), 669 (T -āī, *ce rūy*), 676 (T -am *kardī*), 678 (T -andī, *negārā*), 700 (T -ūr *benšini*), 706 (B -ārā, *ze had*), 712 (B -īzat), 734 (B -ān *bāšad*), 735 (B -ā *namīhāšad*), 738 (B -ā *mānad*), 755 (B -āham), 761 (B -ā *ye darvīšān*), 770 (B -ān *astī*), 771 (B -āh *astī*), 781 (B -ānī, *bar ānam*), 781 (B -ānj, *bahār*), 810 (X -ān *āy*), 811 (X -ā *ī*), 830 (Qq -ār *mīhīnam*), 831 (Qq -am *namīhīnam*); M 54-72, 324-325, 562-593, 1023-1025, 1221-1225, 1293, 1314-1315, 1337-1340, 1412-1443, 1844-1860, 2118-2119, 2160-2169, 2290-2299, 2498-2562, 3180.

¹ Or “(ever)lasting”.

§ 194 By reducing the number of syllables to eleven we arrive at the *masnavī*-variety of the *bahr e hazaj*. Cf. § 139.

چه خوش بی مهر بونی از دوسر بی که یک سر مهر بونی در دوسر بی
اگر مجنون دل شوریده ای داشت دل لیلی از اون شوریده تربی
مفاعیلین مفاعیلین فعولن/فعولان مفاعیلین مفاعیلین فعولن

<i>ce x"oš bī meh-</i>	<i>rabūnī az</i>	<i>do sar bī</i>
<i>ke yek sar meh-</i>	<i>rabūnī dar-</i>	<i>d e sar bī</i>
<i>agar majnū"</i>	<i>del ē šūrī-</i>	<i>dē ī dāšt</i>
<i>del ē leilā²</i>	<i>az ū" šūrī-</i>	<i>detar bī</i>
○ — — —	○ — — —	○ — —

“How lovely is love when it is mutual, for one-sided love is irksome. If Majnūn had a desperately loving heart, the heart of Leila was even more desperately in love”.

بابا طاهر عریان Bābā Tāher e ʿOryān

Each *mesrāʿ* contains only three *arkān*; hence each *beit* contains six *arkān* and the *vazn* is accordingly described as *مسدس mosaddas* “sixfold, hexametric”. The last *rokn* is *mahzūf*. The full description of the *vazn* is therefore *bahr e hazaj e mosaddas e mahzūf*, but the designation *bahr e hazaj* is sufficient if it is clear that the poem in question is a *masnavī*.

See also the example in § 147.

§ 195 The scanty fragments of the ninth-century *šāhnāme* of مسعودی مروزی Masʿūdī ye Marvazī are in this rhythm, but otherwise this is the rhythm of romantic love stories, the fashion being set with *ویس و رامین* *vis o rāmin*, composed around 1060 A.D. by *فخر الدین گرجانی* Faxr od-Dīn e Gorgānī. Earthly and heavenly love are often indistinguishable in Persian poetry. Therefore, this *vazn* soon became popular as a vehicle of mystical thought as well. (Rypka 152/152, 177-179/175-178.)

Deservedly the most famous poem in this *vazn* is Nezāmī's *خسرو و شیرین* *xosrov o šīrīn*, completed in 1175-76. As usual, Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī has an imitation almost as good as the original with the same subject and almost the same title: *šīrīn o xosrou*. Jāmī's best known *masnavī*, *yūsuf o zoleixā*, completed in 1483, is in *bahr e hazaj* and so is the *masnavī* of the same name by *لطفعلی آذر* Lotʿālī Āzar (d. 1780 A.D.) as well as *گل و نوروز* *gol o nourūz* “Rose and Newyear” by *خواجہ کرمانی* Xwājū ye Kermānī (d. 1352), *جامشید و خورشید* *jamšīd o xwōršīd* by Salmān e Sāvejī (d. 1376), *شمع و پروانه* *šamʿ o parvāne* “The Candle and the

2 Or *leilī*.

Moth" by Ahlī ye Šīrāzī (d. 1385), and the once so celebrated محمود و اباز *mahmūd o abyāz* by زلالی Zolālī (d. 1615). (Rypka 210-213/202-205, 287/277, 260/253, 262/254, 286, 276, 301/291.)

The prolific فرید الدین عطار Farīd od-Dīn e Šattār (d. about 1229) has a number of *masnaviāt* in this *vazn*: الاهنامه *elāhināme* "The Divine Book", هیلانامه *heilājnāme* "The Book of Hyleg (i.e. apheta, the giver of life in a nativity)", اسرارنامه *asrār-nāme* "The Book of Secrets", مظهر *mazhar* "The Manifestation", and خسرونامه *xosrou-nāme* "The Book of Xosrou"³. In this connection we must also mention روشنائینامه *roušanānāme* "The Book of Enlightenment" by Nāser Xosrou (1003-1088) and سعادتنامه *saʿādat-nāme* "The Book of Bliss" by another Nāser Xosrou (d. 1352), گلشن راز *golšan e rāz* "The Garden of Mystery", an esteemed treatise on mysticism by محمود شبستری Mahmūd e Šabestari (d. ca. 1320), صفات العاشقین *sefāt ol-šāseqīn* "The Lovers' Qualities" by هلالی Helālī (d. 1529), and finally two remarkable *masnaviāt* by the most original of the Indo-Persian poets, Bīdel (d. 1720): the philosophical طلسم حیرت *telesm e heirat* "Talisman of Amazement", and the travelogue طور معرفت *tūr e maʿrefat* "Sinai of Knowledge". (Rypka 237-238/227-228, 188-189/186, 216/186 fn. 254/246, 500-501/276, 518/407.)

§196 Though primarily a *masnavī*-metre, this *vazn* is also common in other forms of poetry, *qazaliāt*, *qasāʿed*, etc., and the dialect quatrains by the eleventh-century poet Bābā Tāher e ŠOryān are written in this rhythm (see the example in §194). Otherwise quatrains are generally written in *vazn e robāʿī* (see §§255-260), but also محمد اقبال Mohammad Eqbāl (Sir Muhammad Iqbal, 1877-1938) uses *bahr e hazaj e mosaddas e mahzūf* for his quatrains.

References: GI 16, 27, 31, 50, 109, 117, 125, 135, 151-161, 186, 239, 290, 314, 326; GII 3-7, 17, 29, 88-90, 96, 117, 133, 135, 143, 151, 241, 300, GIII 21, 27-30, 81-83, 91, 117, 135, 144-145, 194, 263, 267 *his*, 269, 286, 287-290, 349⁴; H 55, 99, 130, 137, 162, 217, 245, 251, 279, 282, 323, 331, 332, 386, 389, 419, 428, 431, 438, 447, 460, 463, 483; S 467 (Q -am, *has ī*), 496 (Mr -ūn *ast*), 507 (M1 -ālī), 544 (T -ārat, *mapendār*), 545 (T -ast, *našāyad*), 558 (T -ilast), 565 (T -ān *hast*), 581 (T -ūri *nadārad*), 587 (T -am *nahāšad*), 588 (T -in *nahāšad*), 598 (T -ānand, *xodāvandān*), 608 (T -āyad, *nagoftam*), 618 (T -ūz), 623 (T -ūš, *xatā*), 634 (T *andam*), 644 (T -ānam, *marā*), 646 (T -ūm, *na az*), 651 (T -ārim), 655 (T -ihān), 659 (T -stan), 676 (T -ardī, *mapors*), 701 (T -ūy, *gol ast*), 715 (B -ān *ast*, *ce rūy*), 735 (B -ā *yē to hāšad*), 745 (B -āyad, *ce sarv*), 752 (B -ūš, *qiāmat*), 752 (B -ūš, *yeḡ ī*), 754 (B -am, *rafīq*), 761 (B -ārān), 765 (B -ū, *man az*), 767 (B -āī, *to hā in*), 768 (B -āī, *garam*), 769 (B -āb ī, *ke dast*), 788 (X -ārā), 808 (X -an), 825 (Qq -ūz), 922 (H -ānand), 924 (H -am), 928 (H -ūz ī, *torā*); M 99-112, 294-296, 335-363, 658-684, 1038-1048, 1174, 1181-1189, 1233-1237, 1297, 1319, 1342, 1495-1545, 1896-1918, 2120, 2177-2188, 2266, 2337-2347, 2645-2722, 3184-3188, 3210.

§197 A number of other *ouzān* are traditionally classified as varieties of *bahr e hazaj*. They are dealt with in §§220-225 and 252-254.

3 Some of the works traditionally ascribed to Farīd od-Dīn e Šattār are unauthentic; among these there are works (e.g. *mazhar ol-šajāeh*, §202) by a namesake of Šattār. On this problem the readers are referred to the works of Helmuth Ritter. (See the bibliography in Rypka 800-801/610.)

4 This poem (by بهار Bahār 1886-1951) is a quasi-*masnavī* with the rhyme arrangement ab ab cd cd ef ef gh gh etc. Cf §214 footnote 8.

بحر رمل

§ 198 *bahr e ramal* "the running metre"

The basic unit of *bahr e ramal* is *fāṣelāton* - ٠ - -. Repeating this *rokn* four times in each *mesrāʿ* we arrive at the standard form *bahr e ramal e mosamman e sālem* "the sound eightfold running metre".

هر که موای آگه است از خوشن بایزیت	از خود بیرون نیامد چون نبرد او توان شد
آن خبر دارد از او کاو در حقیقت بخیر گشت	و آن اثر دارد که او در بیشانی بنشان شد
فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن

har ke mū ī
ū ze x"oḍ bī-
ā" xabar dā-
v ā" `asar⁵ dā-

āgah ast az
rū" nayāmad
rad `az ū k ū
rad ke ū dar

x"iṣ"tan yā
cū" be nazd ē
dar haqīqat
bīnešāni

az haqīqat
ū tavā" šod
bīxabar gašt
bīnešā" šod

"Everyone who is the least (lit. a hair) aware of himself or of the Ultimate Reality (lit. Truth) has not come out from (i.e. gone beyond) the self. How can he approach Him? Knowledge of Him has he who became knowledgeless in the Ultimate Reality (lit. Truth), and he knows the way who lost his way in the Waylessness (lit. has the trace who became without a trace in the Tracelessness)".

ṢAttār

This *vazn* is rare. References: S 580 (T -ārad, *har ke*), 589 (T -ūṣad), 812 (X -ār ī, *x"oṣ*); M 383, 1581-1582.

§ 199 Instead of the rare *vazn* described in the previous paragraph, the *mahzūf* "apocopated" variety—*bahr e ramal e mosamman e mahzūf*—is used:

عقل اگر داند که دل در بند زلفش چون خوش است	حاصلان دیوانه کردند از پی زنجیر ما
روی خوبت آیتی از لطف بر ما کشف کرد	زان زمان جز لطف و خوبی نیست در تفسیر ما
فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن

<i>ṣaql agar dā-</i>	<i>nad ke del dar</i>	<i>band e zolfaš</i>	<i>cūⁿ xⁿ oš ast</i>
<i>ṣāqelāⁿ dī-</i>	<i>vāneḡ gardan-</i>	<i>d az pey ē zan-</i>	<i>jir e mā</i>
<i>rū ye xūbat</i>	<i>`āyat ī `az</i>	<i>lotf^o bar mā</i>	<i>kašf^o kard</i>
<i>z āⁿ zamāⁿ joz</i>	<i>lotf o xūbi</i>	<i>nīs^o dar taf-</i>	<i>sir e mā</i>
— ∪ — —	— ∪ — —	— ∪ — —	— ∪ —

“If reason would know how happy the heart is in the bond of her locks, the reasonable ones would turn mad for the sake of our chain⁶. Your good⁷ face has revealed to us a (Koranic) verse of grace. Henceforth there is nothing but grace and goodness⁷ in our exegesis”. Hāfez

Another example was given in § 111 last *beit*.

§ 200 Saʿdī's famous *marsiye* مرثیه “threnody” on the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols beginning with

آسمان راحق بود کز خون بریزد بر زمین

ās-mānⁿ rā *haq bovad gar* *xūⁿ berīzad* *bar zamīn*

“Heaven would be right, if it would shed (tears of) blood on earth”.

is in this *vazn*, and so is the celebrated *qaside* by Salmān e Sāveji (d. 1376) beginning as follows

ای فلک آهسته روکاری نه آسان کرده ای ملک ایران را بمرگ شاه ویران کرده ای

ey falak `ā- *heste rou kā-* *r ī na āsāⁿ* *kardē ī*
molk e īrāⁿ *rā be marg ē* *šāh^o vīrāⁿ* *kardē ī*

“O heaven, go quietly! You have done a work (which is) not slight: By the death of the shah you have rendered desolate Iran's land”.

Note how the *rokn* is marked off by the use of internal rhyme:

molk e īrāⁿ
šāh^o vīrāⁿ

In the oldest period this *vazn* is not too commonly met with, but its popularity increases steadily throughout the classical period until in the post-classical period it has become the most common of all *ouzan* employed in *qazaliāt* and *qasā'ed*. Roughly one sixth of all *qasā'ed* are written in *bahr e ramal e mosamman e mahzūf*.

References: GI 55, 114, 115, 122, 131, 207, 209, 242, 267, 323; GII 26, 28, 76, 97, 194, 195, 220, 226, 228, 231, 248, 255, 262, 265, 271, 275, 297; GIII 1, 13, 15, 17 *bis*, 22, 23, 35, 48, 50, 68, 70 *bis*, 78 *bis*, 98, 102, 106, 108, 112, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 132,

5 Or *v ān asar*.

6 I.e. the beautiful locks of the beloved with which our heart is bound.

7 *xūb* and *xūbi* also mean “beautiful” and “beauty” respectively, and in this *beit* have to be understood in these senses as well.

145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 161, 169, 170, 171, 183, 184, 189, 190, 192, 204, 207, 237, 243, 254, 280, 293, 315, 331; H 10, 12, 14, 31, 43, 62, 71, 77, 83, 92, 169, 199, 206, 212, 218, 240, 255, 265, 267, 276, 286, 309, 346, 349, 352, 390, 401, 402, 410, 433, 470; S 503 (Mr -in), 509 (M1 -ar), 537 (T -ūz rā), 541 (T -ih, ey mosalmānān), 552 (T -ār āmadast), 557 (T -el ast, dide), 561 (T -ū st, hā), 563 (T -ū st, kas), 564 (T -ū ye dūst), 566 (T -ār nīst), 571 (T -āb dāst), 579 (T -ard), 591 (T -ān gofte and), 606 (T -ar mišavad), 611 (T -ār, tā), 616 (T -ir, fetne), 622 (T -anaš, cūn), 633 (T -āi zadam), 647 (T -im), 648 (T -āb afkandē im), 648 (T -āne im), 662 (T -an makon), 666 (T -ān afkandē i), 673 (T -āstī), 674 (T -ā har dāstī), 687 (T -an miḥarī), 702 (T -ūy, vaqt), 708 (B -ir rā), 710 (B -ūy rā), 736 (B -āi kešad), 750 (B -ān i gū mahāš), 753 (B -ār e xwīš), 760 (B -ān āsūde im), 762 (B -ān bāxtan), 764 (B -in e man), 766 (B -i rū ye to), 777 (B -ūdi kāškī), 779 (B -ābat didamī), 788 (X -jīš rā), 789 (X -ār xwīš rā), 792 (X -ang nīst), 800 (X -āne bāš), 801 (X -ār e del), 809 (X -ā ye to), 821 (Qq -āim nīst), 921 (H -ord); M 131-159, 298-299, 384-403, 728-757, 1009-1011, 1060-1082, 1194-1197, 1207, 1243-1248, 1303, 1308, 1325, 1343, 1365, 1583-1603, 1935-1981, 2195-2209, 2362-2371, 2774-2812, 3191⁸.

§201 By reducing the number of syllables to eleven, we arrive as usual at the *masnavi*-variety: *bahr e ramal e mosaddas e mahzūf* "The apocopated sixfold running metre".

از بنما مردم بجیوان بر زدم	از جادی مردم و نامی شدم
پس چه ترسم کی ز مردن کم شدم	مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم
فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن	فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن

<i>az jamādi</i>	<i>mordam ō nā-</i>	<i>mī šodam</i>
<i>v az namā mor-</i>	<i>dam be heivāⁿ</i>	<i>bar zadam</i>
<i>mordam az hei-</i>	<i>vāni ō ā-</i>	<i>dam šodam</i>
<i>pas ce tarsam</i>	<i>kei ze mordan</i>	<i>kam šodam</i>
- - - -	- - - -	- - -

"I died from mineral and became a plant, died from planthood and rose as an animal, died from animalhood and became a man. Then why should I fear? When did I grow less by dying"? Moulavi

⁸ Number 3191 is a *مولع* *molamma*⁶ "bilingual poem" written in Persian and Demotic Greek. Demotic Greek does not easily adapt itself to the rules of Classical Persian prosody. The structure of the Greek lines is rather loose. This influences the Persian lines of the poem, and Moulavi takes liberties with the metre which he does not permit himself elsewhere.

§202 This is the metre of the famous *qazal* beginning with

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی

bū ye jūy ē

mūliān ā-

yad hamī

yād e yār ē

mehrabān ā-

yad hamī

“There comes the smell of the Mūliān-stream. There comes the memory of a beloved friend”. with which Rūdakī (d. 940) is said to have persuaded his king to return to بخارا *boxārā*. Also the fragments of his lost *masnavī* کلبه و دمه *kalīḡ wo demne* “Pancatantra” are in this *vazn*. Nevertheless, *bahr e ramal*⁹ did not become common as a *masnavī*-metre until ṢAttār with his famous منطق الطیر *manteq ol-teir* “The Eloquence of the Birds”, completed in 1178, established it as the standard metre of mystical poetry. (Rypka 144-145/144-145.)

ṢAttār himself has a number of less known *masnaviāt* in his *vazn*: مصیبتنامه *mosibatnāme* “The Book of Affliction”, اشترنامه *oštornāme* “The Camel’s book”, لسان الغیب *lesān ol-qeib* “The Tongue of the Unseen”, مظهر العجائب *mazhar ol-ṣajāeh*¹⁰ “The Scene of Wonders”, پندنامه *pandnāme* “The Book of Advice”, etc. An imitation of *manteq ol-teir* which far outshines the original, indeed the greatest Persian contribution to world literature, is *masnavī ye maṣnavī* “The Spiritual Masnavī”, comprising more than 25000 *abyāt* and composed by Moulānā Jalāl od-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), in Persia better known as Moulavī¹¹. (Rypka 237-242/226-231.)

Among the *masnaviāt* in this *vazn* we may mention انیس العارفين *anis ol-ṣārefin* “The Gnostics’ Companion” by قاسم الانوار *Qāsem ol-Anvār* (d. 1433), سلامان و ايسال *salāmān o absāl* by Jāmī (d. 1492), and two short *masnaviāt*, نان و حلوا *nān o halvā* “Bread and Sweetmeat” and نان و پنیر *nān o panīr* “Bread and Cheese”, by Šeix Bahāī (d. 1622). As late as fifty years ago there was composed in this *vazn* another mystical *masnavī*, which may claim a place in world literature, namely جاويدنامه *jāvidnāme* “The Eternal Book” by the last great Indo-Persian poet, Mohammad Eqbāl. (Rypka 284/274, 287/277-278, 300/290, 732/381.)

§203 In *qasā’ed* and *qazaliāt*, too, the *bahr e ramal e mosaddas e mahzūf* is quite common.

References: GI I, 25, 54, 103, 324, 327 bis; GII 18, 38, 40, 75, 83-87, 96, 117, 121-131,

9 When talking about a *masnavī* the term *bahr e ramal* is sufficient to describe this *vazn*, since no other variety of the *bahr e ramal* is commonly employed in *masnaviāt*, but cf. §§213-214.

10 Cf. footnote 3 above.

11 Quoted in §§100, 112, 166, and 201. Moulavī is considered a Turk by the Turks and a Persian by the Persians. He was probably a Persian by race and language, but he came to Turkey at a tender age and spent his life there, and Rūmī, the name under which he is best known in Europe, means “the Turk” (< “(East) Roman”). The Turks call him Mevlānā. The esteem in which the book is held is expressed in the following saying about its author:

من چه گویم وصف آن عالی جناب نیست پیغمبر ولی دارد کتاب

man ce gūyam

vasf e ān ṣā-

lī janāb

nīst peiqam-

har valī dā-

rad ketāb

“What shall I say to describe that exalted master? He is no prophet, yet he has a Book”!

133, 149, 153, 163, 166, 182, 299; GIII 21, 83, 123, 128, 146, 176 bis, 187-188, 278, 287, 297, 302, 304-308, 309-312, 312, 313; H 8, 96, 103, 197, 308, 363, 369, 478; S 460 (Q -ār, *has*), 477 (Q -in, *ey*), 506 (M1 -am), 511 (M1 -ām), 540 (T -āh, *qāfel and*), 541 (T -āh, *māhrūyā*), 556 (T -astī *xwōštar ast*), 557 (T -el *ast, pā*), 567 (T -ān *īš nīst*), 567 (T -ām *nīst*), 592 (T -rde *and*), 594 (T -ar *mīzanad*), 595 (T -āī *mīzanad*), 596 (T -āī *mīkonad*), 596 (T -āni *mīkonad*), 604 (T -ā *mīravad*), 653 (T -an), 675 (T -ed *ī*), 679 (T -ar *ī, jour*), 681 (T -arī, *sarv*), 682 (T -ar *ī, har gez*), 700 (T -ūy, *xwāham*), 702 (T -ā *mīravī*), 725 (B -ār *az dast raft*), 778 (B -āreḡī), 793 (X -anat), 802 (X -ām), 823 (Qq -ā *mīkonad*), 823 (Qq -ān *mīkonad*), 925 (H -ān *e man*), 926 (H -ā *ye man*), 927 (H -ar *ī, xwōš*); M 170-182, 264, 302-304, 424-432, 522, 810-832, 1095-1107, 1208-1210, 1255-1260, 1309, 1320, 1326, 1346-1347, 1656-1676, 2005-2022, 2223-2231, 2380-2385, 2893-2926.

§204 Other *ouzān* traditionally classified as varieties of *bahr e ramal* are described in §§209-214 and 248.

بحر رجز

§205 *bahr e rajaz* “the smarting metre”

The basic unit of this metre is the *rokn*, *mostafʿelon* – – – – –, and the only variety commonly met with is the standard version, *bahr e rajaz e mosamman e sālem* “the sound eightfold smarting metre”. It is practically always doubled¹².

سنگی بزن تلخی بگو تیغی بکش کاری کن
از گوشه چشمی بمن نظاره ای باری کن
مستفعِلن مستفعِلن مستفعِلن مستفعِلن

اکنون که تنها دیدت لطف از نه آزار کن
گیرم نداری میل من ای مردم چشم گهی
مستفعِلن مستفعِلن مستفعِلن مستفعِلن

aknūⁿ ke tan-
sang ī bezan
gīram nadā-
az gūše yē

hā didamat
talx ī bogū
rī meil e man
češm ī be man

lotf ar na ā-
tiq ī bekeš
`ey mardom ē
nazzāre ī

zār ī bokon
kār ī bokon
češmam gah ī
bārī bokon

— — — —

— — — —

— — — —

— — — —

12 Cf. §§186-187.

“Now, since I have found (lit. seen) you alone, show me kindness (or) if not (then at least) tease me! Throw a stone (at me)! Say something harsh! Draw your sword! Do something! I take it that you have no inclination towards me. Oh, light of mine eye (lit. pupil of my eye)! Some time, throw at least a glance at me from the corner of your eye”. Ahlī

The name of the metre, “the smarting metre”, goes very well with the content of this example.

§206 A famous *qasīde* written in this not very common metre is the one by معزی Moʿezzi (d. ca. 1126) beginning

تا یک زمان زاری کنم بر ربع و طالع و دن

ای ساربان منزل مکن جز در دیار یار من

ey sār¹³ bān

manzel makon

joz dar diā-

r¹³ ē yār e man

tā yek zamān

zārī konam

bar rahs o at-

lāl ō deman

“O camel-driver, do not halt except in the land of my beloved one, so that I may once wail over the abode and the ruins and the traces!”

References: GI 236; GII 163, 167, 200, 230; GIII 1, 25, 30, 34, 67, 73, 93, 138, 201; H 191, 344; S 536 (T -āb rā), 536 (T -āz rā), 537 (T -ām rā, *emšab*), 537 (T -ām rā, *bar xjz*), 582 (T -ā mībarad), 605 (T -ānam mīravād), 619 (T -as), 628 (T -am), 649 (T mā nīz *ham had nīstīm*), 740 (B -ar bar kanad), 756 (B -ān mībaram), 771 (B -arī, *āxer*); M 1-35, 261, 321, 519, 523-542, 1015-1019, 1172, 1215-1216, 1333-1334, 1370-1391, 1777, 1786-1812, 2130-2140, 2275-2282, 2427-2453.

§207 Other *ouzān* traditionally reckoned as varieties of *bahr e rajaz* are given in §§215 and 250-251.

13 Cf. §§92 and 93.

FAST METRES (THE THIRD CIRCLE)

§ 208 The metres of this circle all consist of two short syllables alternating with two long syllables, and whereas the metres of the second circle may well have been adopted from the Arabs, the metres of this circle are certainly of native origin¹, and therefore they are not recognised by the traditional prosodists as independent metres, but classified as varieties of the *bohūr* “metres” of the second circle. The first of the two shorts (never the second) is thought to have been originally long. In other words, in order to arrive at the traditional classification of the metres in this circle one should always begin by altering the first short to a long.

بحر رمل مخبون

§ 209 *bahr e ramal e maxbūn* “the hemmed running metre”

The basic unit of this metre is *fāṣelāton* ∪ ∪ – –. It is traditionally not recognised as a separate *bahr*, but said to be a *maxbūn* “hemmed” version of *bahr e ramal*, *fāṣelāton* – ∪ – – having become *fāṣelāton* ∪ ∪ – –.

The term *maxbūn*, taken from the jargon of the tailors, means that the first syllable of each *rokn* has been changed from a long to a short. Hence the metre described in § 172

1 We learn from the scholia in the Alexandrian grammarian Hephaestion's manual of Greek metres that the *Ionicus* measure (two long syllables alternating with two short ones) was employed in Middle Persian poetry: ... ὁ καὶ περσικός· ἰωνικός μὲν, ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῷ ἐπέχρηντο· περσικός δέ, διὰ τὸ τὰς ἱστορίας τὰς Περσικὰς τοῦτω μέτρῳ γεγράφθαι. “... and the Persian one (it is also called); Ionian (it is called) because the Ionians employed it, and Persian because the Persian epics were written in this metre”.

See Hephæstionis Alexandrini *Enchiridion de metris et poemate* (ed. J.C. Pauw), Trajecti ad Rhenum 1726, p. 82. Cf. Otakar Klima: *Middle Persian literature* in Jan Rypka: *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, p. 53, (p. 54 in the German version). Cf. Additional Notes.

Cf. the rhythm of the archaic *āhu ye kūhi* quoted in § 258.

(- - - - -) is said to be a *maxbūn* version of *bahr e motadārek* (§190), that is *fāṣelon* - - - has become - - -. Accordingly the *vazn* of Šeḫ Bahāī's *masnavī* is *bahr e motadārek e mosamman e maxbūn*.

§210 By repeating *fāṣelāton* - - - four times in each *mesrāʿ* we arrive at *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn* "the hemmed eightfold running metre".

جز بدو رخ چو منی ظلم بود یار چو او ای

نشود شیفته رنگی و آشفته بو ای

فاعلاتن فعاتن فعاتن فعاتن

zāhed ar ah-

joz be dūzax

ei x"oš ā" del

našavad šī-

- - -

l e behešt as-

co man ī zol-

ke ze torkā-

f'te yē ran-

- - -

زاهد اراهل هشت است خدایا مفرستم

ای خوش آن دل که ز ترکان پر کهره چوینما

فاعلاتن فعاتن فعاتن فعاتن

t" xodāyā

m" hovad yā-

n e pariceh-

g ī yo āšof-

- - -

maferestam

r e co ū ī

re co yaqmā

te ye bū ī

- - -

"If the bigot² is (destined to become) an inhabitant of Paradise, O God, do not send me (there)! (Do not send me anywhere) except to Hell! (For) someone like me the torment (of Hell) will be a friend like him (or her whom I love). How happy that heart which does not become infatuated with a colour³ and enamoured with a smell³, as Yaqmā (does) with fairy-faced Turks".

Yaqmā ye Jandaqī (d. 1859) یغمای جندقی

It should be remembered that - - may be substituted for - - in the beginning of a *mesrāʿ* as happens three times in the above example. Cf. §152.

In the traditional terminology this, of course, results in a different designation of the *beit*. The first *beit* above is *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn e sālem os-sadrein*, and the second *beit* is *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn e sālem os-sadr*. Cf. §185.

This *vazn* is rare. References: GIII 218; S 535 (T -ā rā, pīš), 607 (T -āyad, haxt), 640 (T -ār e to hāšam), 670 (T -āī, man), 685 (T -ārī, na), 691 (T -āmī, to), 698 (T -ānī, hamē), 751 (B -ānaš, har ke soudā), 758 (B -ānam, soxan), 761 (B -ūyam), 813 (X -īrī), 822 (Qq -ānat); M 160-162, 404-405, 758-765, 1083, 1604-1618, 1776, 1983-1984, 2210-2211, 2372-2375, 2813⁴-2827, 3190.

² May also be translated "religious, devout, zealot, hermit, abstinent, etc."

³ The expression *rang o bū* denotes transient beauty.

⁴ Number 2813 contains a number of Arabic quotations. In these, in agreement with the rules of Arabic prosody, - - coexists with - - not only in the first *rokn*.

§211 Just as in the case of *bahr e ramal* proper, here also instead of the rare *vazn* described in the last paragraph the apocopated variety is used: *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn e mahzūf*.

روزها فکر من این است و همه شب سختم
که چرا غافل از احوال دل خوشتم
از کجا آمده ام آمدنم کجاست چه بود
بکجا میروم آخر ننمائی وطنم
فاعلاتن فعلاتن فعلاتن فعلان
فعلاتن فعلاتن فعلاتن فعلن

rūz'hā fek-

ke cerā qā-

az kojā ā-

be kojā mī-

— — —

r e man in as-

fel az ahvā-

madē am ā-

ravam āxer

— — —

t o hamē šab

l e del ē x"ī-

madanam bah-

nanemāī

— — —

soxanam

š"tanam

r e ce būd

vatanam

— — —

“(During) the days and all the night my thought is this: (that) Why am I unconscious of the condition of my own heart? Where have I come from? What was my coming for? Where am I going to? Wilt Thou not at last show (me) my home?”

Moulavī

It should be remembered that one long may be substituted for two shorts, examples of which are seen below and in §§ 148-151.

§212 *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn e mahzūf* is one of the most common rhythms, and more than a quarter of Hāfez' *qazaliāt* are in this *vazn*. Among the famous poems composed in this *vazn* may be mentioned: “The tears of Khorassan” by انوری Anvarī (d. 1189?) beginning:

بر سمرقند اگر بگذری ای باد سحر
نامه اهل خراسان ببر سلطان بر

bar samarqan-

nāme yē ah-

— — —

d" agar hog-

l e xorāsān

— — —

zarī ey hā-

be har ē sol-

— — —

d e sahar

tā" har

— — —

“If you pass by Samarqand, O morning breeze, carry the letter of the people of Xorāsān to the sultan”.

The elegy by خاقانی Xāqānī (d. 1199) over his wife and only son beginning:

دلنواز من بیمار شماید همه

delnavāz ē

man e hīmā-

r" šomāī-

d" hamē^s

“Comforters of afflicted me are you all”.

The *qazal* by Hāfez beginning:

صبحدم مرغ چمن با گل نو خاسته گفت ناز کم کن که در این باغ بسی چمن شکفت

sobh'dam mor-

q e caman bā

gol e nouxā-

s'te goft

nāz' kam kon

ke dar īn bā-

q' has ī cūn

to šekoft

"At dawn the field-bird (s: nightingale) said to the new-grown (lit. newly-risen) rose: 'Be less coy for in this garden many have blossomed like you'".

References: GI 63, 99, 101, 107 *bis*, 206, 244, 268, 279, 283, 304; GII 20, 23, 52, 53, 69, 137, 152, 161, 164, 168, 172, 173, 175 *bis*, 181, 196, 199, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 223, 225, 233, 236, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 253, 254, 258, 261, 296; GIII 3, 14, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 45, 46, 59, 72, 95, 96, 100, 105, 112, 113, 115, 119, 136, 152, 166, 177, 178, 186, 191, 193, 194, 197, 199, 211, 216, 222, 226, 231, 238, 279, 281 *bis*, 303, 343; H 9, 17-21, 24, 26, 36, 48, 49, 51, 52, 57, 67, 68, 70, 73-75, 80, 81, 85, 105, 108, 111, 112, 123-125, 128, 134, 136, 140-142, 144, 150, 152, 157-159, 164, 166, 173, 174, 176, 178, 181-185, 189, 190, 193, 202-205, 207-211, 213, 222, 223, 227, 228, 236, 248-250, 252, 257, 264, 268, 271, 277, 281, 287, 289, 293, 301, 310, 311, 314, 316, 317, 319, 324, 326, 328, 335, 336, 340, 341, 345, 347, 348, 355, 357, 359-361, 366-368, 373, 376-378, 380, 385, 387, 391, 404, 407, 420, 422, 423, 448-450, 455, 456, 458, 467, 472, 480, 481, 484, 485, 488, 490; S 443 (Q -ā *har xāst*), 445 (Q -āni *nīst*, *ayyohā n-nās*), 450 (Q -ar *bāz āmad*), 452 (Q -ūd), 454 (Q -ār, *bāmdād ī*), 538 (T -ān *rā*), 543 (T -arat), 547 (T -ār *ānjā st*), 548 (T -āmat *har xāst*), 548 (T -ab *ast*), 552 (T -as *ī oftādast*), 555 (T -ar *ast*, *har*), 563 (T -am *e dūst*), 564 (T -am *az ū st*), 565 (T -ār *ī hast*), 566 (T -er *nīst*), 568 (T -āmam *nīst*), 568 (T -ān *nīst*), 569 (T -ār *e to nīst*), 570 (T -ān *e to nīst*), 573 (T -ār *heraft*), 581 (T -ān *ī dārad*), 583 (T -ān *migozarad*), 584 (T -ā *šod*), 589 (T -ar *mīšod*), 591 (T -ān *mānad*), 593 (T -arand), 593 (T -ārand), 593 (T -ālaš *dārand*), 600 (T -ūd, *šaraf*), 600 (T -ā *būd*), 603 (T -el *beravad*), 603 (T -ā *naravad*), 604 (T -ān *naravad*), 606 (T -īd), 608 (T -āz *āyad*), 609 (T -āq *āyad*), 614 (T -ūr, *be fulak*), 617 (T -ir, *mā*), 622 (T -āzaš), 625 (T -īš), 631 (T -astam, *man*), 632 (T -oftam, *man*), 635 (T -ān *būdam*), 638 (T -ā *mīnegaram*), 639 (T -āzam, *az*), 639 (T -āzam, *nazar*), 651 (T -ān *gardidim*), 653 (T -ā *naravim*), 661 (T -ān *didan*), 665 (T -āzi *beh*), 667 (T -āy), 668 (T -ār *āi*), 684 (T -ār *ī*, *xabar*), 689 (T -ānaš *hāši*), 693 (T -(a)ni, *man*), 698 (T -ūš *konī*), 708 (B -ān *rā*, *ei ke*), 709 (B -āi *rā*), 714 (B -āktar *ast*), 717 (B -in *ast*, *gar*), 722 (B -āi *hast*, *har ce*), 724 (B -in *ī st*), 726 (B -ā *begereft*), 727 (B -āyat), 730 (B -in *migozarad*), 733 (B -as *ī har xīzad*), 733 (B -ā *narasad*), 734 (B -ānam *hāšad*), 737 (B -ān *bāz āmad*), 740 (B -ān *tā cand*), 741 (B -ol *naikonad*), 741 (B -amand), 743 (B -ā *āyand*), 744 (B -ā *yē to hovad*), 745 (B -ū *beravad*), 747 (B -ān *mīāyad*), 748 (B -ak *ī mīāyad*), 748 (B -āy *e degar*), 753 (B -īš), 754 (B -ū *ye to am*), 755 (B -ādam), 758 (B -anam), 760 (B -im), 762 (B -ardun), 767 (B -āi, *to parizāde*), 776 (B -aram *har xīzī*), 776 (B -as *ī*, *gar*), 777 (B -ākī), 781 (B -āni, *kebr*), 790 (X -ūš *e marā*).

792 (X -āyān nīst), 794 (X -āl ī dārad), 796 (X -ar bāz āmad), 797 (X -andand), 798 (X -ar mī naravad), 802 (X -ardam), 802 (X -aram, mīravam), 804 (X -ānam, ān), 806 (X -im), 809 (X -āxtē ī), 811 (X -an bāz āī), 824 (Qq -ā nīz konand), 826 (Qq -ānaš), 829 (Qq -ā dāram), 829 (Qq -ān andāzam), 831 (Qq -āmat beravam), 928 (H -arī, xwāstam): M 167-169, 263, 300, 406-423, 775-808, 1086-1093, 1250-1254, 1344-1345, 1628-1654, 1988-2004, 2213-2222, 2377-2379, 2859-2891, 3192.

§213 As usual, the *masnavi*-variety is arrived at by reducing the number of syllables to eleven: *bahr e ramal e mosaddas e maxbūn e mahzūf* "the apocopated hemmed six fold running metre".

عاشقی بر سرود دست شراب	شب آدینه و من مست و خراب
عاشق آن به که بود مست و خراب	عاشق و مست و خرابم چه کنم
فاعلاتن فعاتن فعلان	فاعلاتن / فعاتن فعلان / فعلن

šab e ādī-

šāseqī bar

šāseq ō mas-

šāseq āⁿ beh

و - - -

ne wo man mas-

sar o dar das-

t o xarāham

ke bovad mas-

و - - -

t o xarāb

tⁿ šarāb

ce konam

t o xarāb

و - - -

"(It is) Friday eve⁶ and I am dead drunk (lit. drunk and bad); love on head (و: I have fallen in love against my will) and wine in hand. I am in love and dead drunk! What shall I do? It is better for a lover that he be—dead drunk"! Adīb Sāber (d. 1147?) صابر

§214 This *vazn* is not very common, either in *masnaviāt* or in *qazaliāt* and *qasā'ed*. It is the metre of سبحت الابرار *sobhat ol-abrār* "The Rosary of the Pious", a didactic *masnavi* by Jāmī (d. 1492), and of a masterly short *masnavi* by the contemporary poet پرویز نائل خانلری *Parvīz e Nātel-Xanlarī*⁷ entitled عقاب *šoqāb* "The Eagle". (Rypka 287/277.)

The latter is a very good example of how the possible variations within the metres of Circle III in the hands of a master can be used to underline the mood of the poet. The *ouzān* of this circle we have called "fast metres". However these "fast metres" become even slower than the "slow metres" of Circle II when *mafšūlon* - - - is substituted for *faṣelāton* و - - - (Cf. §§151-152).

6 And therefore doubly sinful to be drunk.

7 The author of *vazn e šeṣr e fārsī* "Metres of Persian Poetry". Cf. §163.

Compare the following two *ahyāt*:

باید از هستی دل برگیرد ره سوی کشور دیگر گیرد

bāyad az has-

tī del bar

girad

rah su-yē keš-

var e digar

girad

“He must tear his heart away from existence and take the road of another land”.

آشیان دشت در آن دامن دشت زاغکی نشت و بداندام و پلشت

āšiān dā-

šo dar ān dā-

man e dašt

zāqak ī zeš-

t o badandā-

m o palašt

“At the other (lit. that) border of the plain an ugly, hideous and contemptible little crow had (its) nest”.

Notice how Xānlari while talking about death makes the metre come almost to a standstill with just a flicker of hope (*kešvar e digar* ---) where a possible life after death is hinted at, and contrast this with the high speed of the other *beit*.

References: GI 191, 270, 305; GII: 42, 111, 289-293; GIII 173, 265, 271, 296, 350*, 352*; S 640 (T -ān mīšūzam), 646 (T -avam); M 183-184, 433-435, 833-838, 1108-1110, 1677-1684, 2023-2026, 2232, 2927-2930, 3193.

بحر عزمطوی

§215 *bahr e rajaz e matvī* “the folded smarting metre”

Now consider the following example.

یار توای غارتوای خواجه نگه دار مرا یار مرا غار مرا عشق جگر خوار مرا
قند توای زهر توای بیش میازار مرا قطره توای بحر توای لطف توای قهر توای
مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن

8 Quasi-masnavi with the rhyme arrangement ab ab cd cd ef ef gh gh... Cf. §196 footnote 4.

<i>yār' marā</i>	<i>qār' marā</i>	<i>šešq e jegar-</i>	<i>x'ār' marā</i>
<i>yār' toī</i>	<i>qār' toī</i>	<i>x'āje negah</i>	<i>dār' marā</i>
<i>qatre toī</i>	<i>bahr' toī</i>	<i>lotf' toī</i>	<i>qahr' toī</i>
<i>qand' toī</i>	<i>zahr' toī</i>	<i>bīš' mayā-</i>	<i>zār' marā</i>
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -

“A friend is mine. A cave⁹ is mine. A heart-consuming love is mine. The friend art Thou. The cave⁹ art Thou. O Lord, save me. The drop art Thou. The ocean art Thou. Grace art Thou. Wrath art Thou. Sugar art Thou. Poison art Thou. Torment me not more”. Moulavī

The *rokn*, *moštaḥelon* - - - -, is traditionally said to be derived from *mostaḥelon* - - - - by shortening of the second syllable, and the metre is called *bahr e rajaz e mosamman e matvī*, “the folded eightfold smarting metre”, the term *matvī* “folded” indicating that the second syllable in each *rokn* has been shortened.

This *vazn* is rare. References: M 36-43, 543-547, 1204, 1217-1219, 1335, 1360, 1392-1401, 1775, 1813-1820, 2141-2146, 2283-2284, 2454-2463, 3028.

بحر سریع

§216 *bahr e sarī* “the swift metre”

Abbreviating the above *vazn* to eleven syllables, we arrive at its *masnavi*-version.

صد کنم و باز بگویم یکی	من که شدم کارشناس اندکی
زان که یکی نکنی و گویی هزار	رو که تو ای شیفته روزگار
مقتل منقطن فاعلن / فاعلان	مقتل منقطن فاعلن / فاعلان

<i>man ke šodam</i>	<i>kār'šenā-</i>	<i>s andak ī</i>
<i>sad konam ō</i>	<i>bāz' nagū-</i>	<i>yam yek ī</i>
<i>rou ke toī</i>	<i>šif'te yē</i>	<i>rūz'gār</i>
<i>z ā' ke yek ī</i>	<i>nakni¹⁰ o gū-</i>	<i>ī hezār</i>
- - -	- - -	- - -

9 A paraphrase of the expression *yār e qār* “a faithful friend (like ابو بکر Abū Bakr who hid with Mohammad in a cave)”.

10 Cf. §102.

“I who have become a little experienced do a hundred (things) and do not tell of one. Go away, you who are infatuated by the world, for you do not do one (thing) and talk about a thousand”. Nezāmī

§217 The name of this *vazn* is not, as one might have expected, *bahr e rajaz e mosaddas e matvī ye mahzūf*, for the traditional prosodists do not recognise that the last syllable of a *mesrā* is anceps (Cf. §§41-43 and 166 end), and will therefore not consider *fā*elon – ٠ – as a *mahzūf* variety of *mofta*elon – ٠٠ –. Instead it is said to be derived from a different Arabic *bahr* called *bahr e sarī* “the swift metre”, of which the standard *mesrā* (not found in Persian poetry) is

مستفعلن مستفعلن مفعولات

*mostaf*elon

— — ٠ —

*mostaf*elon

— — ٠ —

*maf*ūlāto

— — — ٠.

By making this metre *matvī*—shortening the second syllable of each *rokn*—and by making it *مكسوف* *maksūf* “heel-cut”—eliding the final short syllable of each *mesrā*—we arrive at the rhythm of the example in §216 which is therefore said to be *bahr e sarī e mosaddas e matvī ye maksūf* “the heel-cut, folded, sixfold swift metre”, ordinarily called simply *bahr e sarī*.

§218 *bahr e sarī* was originally quite rare, but about 1176 Nezāmī wrote his مخزن الاسرار *maxzan ol-asrār* “Treasury of Mysteries” in this metre. (See the examples in §§216 and 166 end.) This *masnavī*, which comprises over 2000 *abjāt*, became very popular, and inspired a number of imitations, of which we may mention: مطلع الانوار *matla ol-anvār* “The Rising-place of Lights” by Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī (d. 1324), روضة الابرار *rouzat ol-abrār* “The Garden of the Pious” composed in 1343 by Xwājū ye Kermānī, and تحفة الاحرار *tohfāt ol-ahrār* “The Gift of the Free” written in 1481 by Jāmī. It is seen from the above-mentioned works that even the title of Nezāmī’s *masnavī* is imitated, the title being in each case a disyllabic Arabic noun construed with a broken plural of the افعال *afʿāl* type. Except for *masnaviāt* of this kind, this *vazn* never became very common. (Rypka 210-211/202-203, 287/277.)

References: GI 7; GII 2-3, 180, 202, GIII 21, 268, 297; H 284, S 508 (M1 -āl), 533 (T -ā, ei), 544 (T -ast, hī to), 613 (T -ār, zendē), 616 (T -ir, az), 624 (T -ūš, gar), 645 (T -ūr ei sanam), 679 (T -arī, xānē), 690 (T -ānēgī), 810 (X -ūxtē); M 250-260, 316, 503-517, 993-1007, 1165-1171, 1292, 1313, 1331-1332, 1768-1774, 2104-2117, 2261-2262, 2422, 3164-3178, 3204-3205.

§219 Writing about Nezāmī’s *maxzan ol-asrār* “Treasury of Mysteries” E.G. Browne mentions that he dislikes its metre¹¹. On the contrary, I consider the *bahr e sarī* to be among the

¹¹ *Literary History of Persia II*, p. 403.

most beautiful of the Persian *ouẓān*. But whether one likes or dislikes this rhythm, it is not difficult to imagine why Nezāmī selected it. The formula *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* *be-sme-llāhe-r-rahmāne-r-rahim* "In the name of God the compassionate the merciful" is commonly used as an auspicious beginning to any work, and is written above the first *beit* of most *masnaviāt*. For *maxzan ol-asrār*, the first *masnavi* of his *xamse* "collection of five (*masnaviāt*)", Nezāmī conceived the idea, that it should not be written above the first *beit*, but instead itself constitute the first *mesrāʿ* of this *masnavi* and thus also of his *xamse*. By substituting - for - - the formula may be fitted into the *bahr e sarīʿ*, and it can hardly be fitted into any other metre, hence Nezāmī's choice of this particular *vazn*:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هست کلید در گنج حکیم
مفعولن مفعولن فاعلان مفعولن مفعولن فاعلان

*besmellā-**herrahmā-**nerrahim*¹²*hast' keli-**d ē dar e gan-**j ē hakīm*

- - -

- - -

- - -

"*besmellāh* ... is the key to the door of the treasury of the Sage".

بحر هزج

§220

[*bahr e hazaj*]

عیسی برہی دید یکی کشته قتادہ حیران شد و گرفت بدندان سرشت
گفتا کہ کراکشتی تا کشتہ شدی زار تا باز کہ اورا بکشد آن کہ ترا کشت

*ʕisā*¹³ *bē rah ī did' yek ī koštē fetāde**heirā' šod o begreft' bē dandā' sar e angōšt**goftā ke kerā koštī tā koštē šodī zār**tā bāz' ke ū rā bekošad 'ā'ke torā košt*

- - - - -

"Jesus saw someone lying killed on a road. In wonder (lit. he became astonished and) he took the tip of (his) finger to (his) mouth. 'Whom' said he, 'did you kill, that you have been miserably killed (yourself)?"

12 This *mesrāʿ* is *mošaʕʕas e maksūf*, the change of - - - to - - being denoted by the term *mošaʕʕas* مشعث "dishevelled".

13 Or *ʕisī*.

And again, who shall therefore (lit. so that again who) kill him who killed you'?"

Nāser Xosrou

A natural division of this *vazn* into *arkān* would be

فعلن فعلاتن فعلاتن

faʕlon

--

faʕelāton

∪∪--

faʕelāton

∪∪--

faʕelāton

∪∪--.

The *vazn* could then be called *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maxbūn e aslam os-sadrein*, the change from --∪-- to -- being denoted by اصلم *aslam* "earless, with the ear cut off".

However, this is not the way it is done. The traditional prosodists analyse the *mesrāʕ* as

مفعول مفاعيل مفاعيل مفعولن

mafʕūlo

--∪

mafāʕilo

∪--∪

mafāʕilo

∪--∪

faʕūlon

∪--

and classify it as *bahr e hazaj e axrab e makfūf e mahzūf*, the change from ∪-- to --∪ being indicated by the term اخرب *axrab* "pierced through the ear", and the shortening of the final long syllable of the second and third *rokn* being indicated by the term مكفوف *makfūf* "restrained".

§221 This classification is artificial, to say the least, and is further complicated by the fact that the length of the individual *arkān* must needs vary whenever -- is substituted for ∪∪. Thus the second *beit* of the above example is by the traditionalists analysed

goftā ke

--∪

kerā koštī

∪----

tā košte

--∪

šodī zār

∪--

tā bāz'

--∪

ke ū rā be-

∪--∪

košad 'ā" ke

∪--∪

torā košt

∪--

and termed *bahr e hazaj e mosamman e axrab os-sadrein*¹⁴ *va sâlem va axrab va makfūf ol-hašv*¹⁴ *va maqsūr*¹⁵ *oz-zarbein*¹⁴. Here we shall not go further into the prolix terminology which this clumsy classification gives rise to.

14 See §185.

15 See §42.

All the variations with their traditional designations may be found in Appendix One.

§222 In this very common *vazn* منوچهری Manūcehrī (d. 1040) wrote his famous *mosammāt*¹⁶ on the production of wine called دختر رز *doxtar e raz* "The Daughter of the Vine" beginning

دهقان سحرگاهان کارخانه سیاه

dehqān be sahgāhān k az xāne biāyad

"When the farmer in the morning comes from his house ..."

References: GI 25, 33, 45, 105, 130, 134, 142, 180, 187, 189, 267, 277, 280, 286, 306, 317, 319; GII 50, 90, 145, 150, 192, 201, 205, 229, 254, 259, 263, 266, 273; GIII 2, 15, 18, 24 *bis*, 32, 49, 57, 64, 73, 77, 86, 92, 95, 116, 136, 207, 208, 230, 244, 245, 246; H 15, 29, 38, 40, 46, 69, 82, 89, 109, 110, 216, 272, 304, 325, 334, 371, 436, 475, 494; S 547 (T -āst, *digar*), 553 (T -īdast, *afsūs*), 554 (T -īdast, *ei*), 559 (T -ām ast), 570 (T -at ī nīst), 572 (T -āfat), 572 (T -āfat), 575 (T -ānat, *jān*), 578 (T -ar oftād), 586 (T -ār nabāšad, *ān*), 587 (T -ār nabāšad, *jang*), 590 (T -ār har āmad), 590 (T -ānad, *ān*), 597 (T -arānand), 598 (T -asānand), 601 (T -ar ī būd), 632 (T -arastam), 650 (T -štim), 650 (T -īdim), 654 (T -an ast ān), 658 (T -āmān), 667 (T -īde), 672 (T -āb ī), 673 (T -astī, *yārā*), 686 (T -ā ke to dārī), 692 (T -ām ī, *cūn*), 708 (B -ān rā, *sāqī*), 731 (B -ān kard), 759 (B -ūnam), 768 (B -āī, *moštāq*), 769 (B -ūī), 813 (X -ūrī), 815 (X -ūy), 822 (Qq -ānad), 824 (Qq -āt har ārid), 828 (Qq -astam), 832 (Qq -ū ī), 833 (Qq -štī); M 96-98, 330-334, 639-657, 1035-1037, 1477-1493, 1890-1895, 2176, 2265, 2331-2336, 2623-2644, 3182.

§223 Very similar to this *vazn* is the so-called *robāʿī*-metre (§§255-260). Closely related is also the doubled rhythm of the following example.

وازه بر چه گویم نیست با وی نظرم چون هست
هر چند نیاید باز تیری که بشد از شست

āxer be ce gūyam hast
v az bahr e ce gūyam nīst
bāz āy ke bāz āyad
har cand nayāyad bāz

آخر چه گویم هست از خود خبرم چون نیست
باز آیی که باز آید عمر شده حافظ

az x"od xabaram cū" nīst
bā vei nazaram cū" hast
šomr ē šode yē hāfez
tir ī ke bešod az šast

"After all, why should I say I am aware of myself, when I am not? And wherefore should I say I am not thinking of her, when I am? Come back,

¹⁶ See §144.

for (then) Hāfez's past life will come back, even though the arrow which has gone forth from the thumb does not come back". Hāfez

Notice the coexistence in the second *beit* of long and overlong in the syllable preceding the cæsure (*ā*)*yad/bāz* (cf. § 187).

This *vazn* is traditionally classified as *bahr e hazaj e mosamman e axrab va sālem*. Note the conjunction *va* "and" between *axrab* and *sālem*, which indicates that the *arkān* in this *vazn* are alternately *axrab* (– – ∪) and *sālem* (∪ – – –). Had we written ... *axrab e sālem* only the first *rokn* in each *mesrāʿ* would have been *axrab*.

§ 224 The classification of this *vazn* as a variety of *bahr e hazaj* is artificial, but not as clumsy as the classification of the previous *vazn*, for it is extremely rare that – in this rhythm is substituted for ∪ ∪.

§ 225 This *vazn* is not very common, but Moulavī is fond of it and one of his most famous qazaliāt is written in it, namely the one beginning

من مست و تو دیوانه مارا که برد خانه

man mast o to dijāne

mārā ke barad xāne

"I am drunk and you (are) mad! Who will bring us home"?

References: GI 307; GII 17, 18, 65, 138, 154, 171, 177, 249, 296; GIII 232, 282; S 539 (T -ānhā), 574 (T -ākat), 574 (T -ānat, *ei jān*), 589 (T -am ī *bāšad*), 643 (T -ānam, *ān*), 671 (T -ā ī, *har kas*), 699 (T -inī, *rūz ī*), 732 (B -īzad), 745 (B -āyad, *sarv ī*), 778 (B -āmi, *ei sūfi*), 779 (B -ām ī, *besyār*), 830 (Qq -īzam); H 27, 161, 466, 493, 495; M 73-91, 290-293, 326-328, 594-635, 1026-1033, 1173, 1226-1232, 1316-1318¹⁷, 1341, 1444-1471¹⁷, 1861-1886, 2170-2175, 2264, 2300-2330, 2563-2622¹⁷, 3181.

17 In the numbers 1318 (*passim*), 1455 (line 15369) and 2576 (line 27352) سلام علیک *salāmo ʿaleik* has to be scanned ∪ – – –. Apparently it was read *salām-waleik* with a falling diphthong in the third syllable as in French *moi*.

COMPOUND METRES (THE FOURTH CIRCLE)

§ 226 The *ouzān* treated so far are each made up by repeating a basic unit or *rokn* a number of times with or without minor modifications of the basic unit. The *ouzān* in this circle are each formed by two alternating basic units, in most cases *mafūʿelon* ٠-٠- alternating with *fāʿelāton* ٠٠--. By the traditional prosodists these metres are more or less artificially considered to be varieties—*maxbūn*, *matvī*¹ etc.—of certain compound Arabic metres.

بحر محنت

§ 227 *bahr e mojtas* “the chopped metre”

In Arabic prosody the basic *arkān* of *bahr e mojtas* are *mostafʿelon* --٠- and *fāʿelāton* -٠--. By making both of these *maxbūn*, i.e. by shortening the first syllable of each, we arrive at the basic units of the Persian metre, of which the standard variety is *bahr e mojtas e mosamman e maxbūn* “the hemmed eightfold chopped metre”.

هزار دانه فشانند و را نشان نشدم من	هزار سنگ بیا لم زدی و من نپریدم
سزد اگر نقر و شتم غم ترا بدو عالم	که تعد سز کف دادم و غم تو خریدم
مفاعیلن فعلاتن	مفاعیلن فعلاتن

1 Cf §§ 209 and 215.

<i>heẓār³ dā-</i>	<i>ne ješā³dan-</i>	<i>d o rāmešā³</i>	<i>našodam man</i>
<i>heẓār³ san-</i>	<i>g³ be bālam</i>	<i>zadī yo man</i>	<i>naparīdam</i>
<i>seẓad³ 'agar</i>	<i>naforūšam</i>	<i>qam ē torā</i>	<i>be do ʕālam</i>
<i>ke naqd e ʕom-</i>	<i>r³ ze kaf dā-</i>	<i>dam ō qam ē</i>	<i>to xarīdam</i>
— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —

“They scattered a thousand grains, but (lit. and) to them I did not become tame. You hurled (lit. struck) a thousand stones at my wing, still (lit. and) I did not fly away. It is meet, if I do not sell the anxiety (for the sake) of you (even) for the two worlds, (considering) that I paid the cash (consisting) of (my) life and bought the anxiety (consisting) of you”.

صبحی Sabāhī (d. 1803)

This *vazn* is rare. References: GIII 164, 179, 217; H 234, 322, 469; S 442 (Q -in rā), 510 (M1 -ol), 511 (M1 -ātī), 543 (T -ādat), 576 (T -āyat), 608 (T -ar āyad), 633 (T -ardam), 635 (T -īdam), 640 (T -ū ye to hāšam), 641 (T -ūšam), 671 (T -īī), 672 (T -astī, to), 674 (T -fīī), 696 (T -āni, nadānamat); M 900-907, 1281, 3037-3046.

§228 Instead of the rare *vazn* described in the last paragraph the *mahzūf* “apocopated” version is used.

که هرگز از تو نگردم نبش نوم پندی	مرا بجان تو گویند و صعب گویندی
که پند سود ندارد بجای گویندی	دهند پندم و من هیچ پند نپذیرم
مفاعیلن فعلاتن مفاعیلن فعلن	مفاعیلن فعلاتن مفاعیلن فعلن

<i>marā be jā-</i>	<i>n e to sougan-</i>	<i>d o saʕb³ sou-</i>	<i>gand ī</i>
<i>ke hargez az</i>	<i>to nagardam</i>	<i>nabešnavam</i>	<i>pand ī</i>
<i>dehand³ pan-</i>	<i>dam o man hi-</i>	<i>c³ pand³ nap-</i>	<i>zīram²</i>
<i>ke pand³ sū-</i>	<i>d³ nadārad</i>	<i>be jā ye sou-</i>	<i>gand ī</i>
— — —	— — —	— — —	— —

“I swear (lit. to me) by your life an oath and (that is) a strong oath, that I shall never turn away from you nor listen to any advice. They give me advice, but (lit. and) I do not accept advice at all, for advice about an oath (which is already sworn) is of no avail (lit. has no advantage)”³.

شهید Šahīd (d. 936)

2 Cf. §102.

3 I cannot refrain from quoting J.R.S. Cooper's unpublished translation of these lines:

(Footnote continued on page 146.)

In the above example the last *rokn* is *faʕlon* --, but of course basically it is *faʕelon* ∪∪-, in which case the rhythm is termed *bahr e mojtaṣṣ e mosamman e maxbūn e mahzūf*. The above example (with -- instead of ∪∪- in the final *rokn*) is termed *bahr e mojtaṣṣ e mosamman e maxbūn e aslam*⁴ “the earless hemmed eightfold chopped metre”.

§229 This is one of the most common rhythms and about one fifth of all Persian *qasāʿed* are written in the *bahr e mojtaṣṣ*, as it is normally called. One of the longest *qasāʿed* in the Classical Persian literature⁵, in which Farroxī in 175 *abyāt* celebrates the plundering raid of محمود غزنوی Mahmūd e Qaznavī on سومات *sūmnāt* “Somnāth” in A.D. 1024-1026 is in this rhythm:

فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیث بکند	سخن نو آرد که نور احلاوتی است دگر
<i>fasāne gaš-</i>	<i>t o kohan šod</i>
<i>hadīs e es-</i>	<i>soxan nov ā-</i>
<i>kandar</i>	<i>rā ke nou rā</i>
<i>stā degar</i>	
∪ - ∪ -	∪ - ∪ -

“The story of Alexander has become a legend and is worn out. Bring a new story, for the new has a special delight”.

This *vazn* is a special favourite with Saʕdī and more than half of his Persian *qasāʿed* are written in it, among others the famous one beginning:

(Footnote continued from page 145.)

On your sweet life I swear—my strongest oath
That I would never heed what others say
About us both
Nor would I ever leave you, come what may.
So when my friends deplore this “gross mismatch”
Saying “I told you so the other time”
Their words do little more than scratch
The surface of my mind. For it’s a crime
To break an oath. So let them give advice
I’ll never take it, not at any price!

4 When ∪∪- occurs instead of an “original” ∪∪∪- the *rokn* is said to be اصل *aslam* “earless”. This term should not be confused with the term اطم *aslam* “castrated” described in §185. Cf. also §220.

5 Still longer *qasāʿed* are found. The one by فیضی Feizi (d. 1595) beginning

رسیدم ز گلگشت حلوی خرامان

<i>reṣīdam</i>	<i>ze golgaš-</i>	<i>t e ṣolvī</i>	<i>xarāmān</i>
∪ - -	∪ - -	∪ - -	∪ - -

“I came slowly walking from the exalted garden”.

runs to 216 *abyāt*. For its *vazn* cf. §173.

که بر و بحر فراخ است و آدمی بسیار

*be hje' yā-
ke barr o bah-*

و - و -

*r' madeh xā-
r' farāx as-*

و - و -

هیچ یار مده خاطر و هیچ دیار

*ter ō be hje-
t o ādami*

و - و -

*c' diār
besyār*

و - و -

"Do not give up your mind to any friend nor to any land, for land and sea are endless and people countless".

Hāfez, too, is very fond of this *vazu*, and almost a quarter of his *qazaliāt* are written in it, and it is also the one most often employed by Moulavī⁶.

References: GI 8, 9, 16, 19, 32, 43, 55, 119, 120, 121, 125, 140, 174, 210, 217, 247, 252, 273, 279, 284, 292, 294, 295 *bis*, 296, 320, 325 *bis*; GII 32, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 108, 110, 112, 165, 170, 191, 192, 210, 219, 222, 232, 237, 244, 255, 258, 267, 272 *bis*, 274, 276, 284; GIII 6, 7, 8, 16, 21, 42, 44, 46, 50, 56, 97, 109, 114, 115, 131, 141, 143, 172, 199 *bis*, 212, 225, 228, 233 *bis*, 250, 251, 252 *bis*, 264, 275, 277, 284, 286, 300, 313; H 2, 4, 16, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41, 44, 45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 58, 61, 64, 66, 76, 79, 88, 93, 97, 98, 101, 106, 113, 114, 116, 119, 122, 129, 131, 132, 135, 143, 145, 147, 155, 156, 160, 167, 168, 175, 177, 179, 187, 188, 195, 201, 215, 219, 221, 224, 230, 235, 237-239, 241, 242, 244, 247, 256, 258, 259, 261, 263, 266, 269, 273, 274, 280, 283, 290, 292, 295, 297-300, 303, 305, 306, 315, 330, 333, 337, 339, 342, 350, 358, 379, 388, 393, 397, 399, 403, 405, 416, 421, 427, 430, 441-443, 445, 446, 452, 457, 461, 471, 477, 491; S 444 (Q -ādest), 446 (Q -ānī nīst, xwōš), 447 (Q -ād), 450 (Q -ān mānad), 452 (Q -āzand), 456 (Q -ār, be hje), 458 (Q -ār, kojā), 462 (Q -āz, xwōšā), 462 (Q -āz, šah ī), 464 (Q -el, har), 466 (Q -āl), 469 (Q -am, xodāy rā), 473 (Q -ān, tamām), 473 (Q -ān, šakar), 476 (Q -ān, torā), 478 (Q -in, tabāraka llah), 482 (Q -āh), 483 (Q -āy), 484 (Q -āī), 487 (Q -ādī), 487 (Q -āri, bezan), 489 (Q -āri, gar), 498 (Mr -ast), 500 (Mr -ād), 501 (Mr -andaš), 501 (Mr -āraš), 506 (Mī -ābi), 534 (T -ārā, agar), 535 (T -ārā, šah), 539 (T -āī rā), 545 (T -ast, conān), 553 (T -and ast), 557 (T -ang ast), 560 (T -ūn ast), 562 (T -ūst, botā), 562 (T -ūst, safar), 571 (T -angi nīst), 575 (T -ānat, co), 578 (T -ār dar namīgonjad), 580 (T -ārad, ke), 583 (T -āzad), 590 (T -ānad, kas ī), 592 (T -astand), 594 (T -īzand), 595 (T -īšand), 596 (T -as nakonad), 599 (T -ūd, agar), 607 (T -āyad, be hosn), 610 (T -ir mīāyad), 622 (T -anaš, rahā), 625 (T -āq), 627 (T -ūl, man), 628 (T -ūl, nešaste), 629 (T -ām, co), 629 (T -ām, hekāyat), 630 (T -ām, marā), 631 (T -astam, be xāk), 636 (T -aram), 637 (T -āram), 641 (T -ār kešam), 646 (T -inam, man), 661 (T -ardan), 677 (T -andī, ce), 684 (T -āri, do), 685 (T -āri, man), 688 (T -āzī), 690 (T -ūšī), 691 (T -amī), 699 (T -ini, šab), 709 (B -ū rā), 711 (B -āxt), 711 (B -ān andāxt), 711 (B -ari āmūxt), 712 (B -āst), 715 (B -ān ast, hezār), 716 (B -ār e man ast), 718 (B -ir az dūst), 720 (B -ā ei dūst), 720 (B -ān ei dūst), 722 (B -ā ī hast, biā), 723 (B -ā ī st, zeh ī), 723 (B -ā ī st, marā), 724 (B -angi nīst), 725 (B -ar mīgašt, xiāl), 725 (B -ar mīgašt, del ī), 728 (B -ā gonjad), 728 (B -ār bar gardad), 729 (B -ar dārad), 730 (B -ār e man dārad), 731 (B -ar girad), 732 (B -ār bar namīgīrad), 734 (B -ān ce rēsad), 736 (B -an bekošad).

⁶ Still it accounts only for slightly more than one twelfth of his *qazaliāt*. The rhythms used by Moulavī show great variety, and he often employs rare *ouzān*.

740 (B -*izand*), 742 (B -*ām konand*), 742 (B -*āyand*), 743 (B -*ūd, torā*), 746 (B -*āyad, ferāq*), 746 (B -*āyad, marou*), 747 (B -*ū namjāyad*), 749 (B -*āi hāz*), 750 (B -*ānaš, x^woš*) 753 (B -*ar e x^wiš*), 756 (B -*andam*), 763 (B -*idan*), 764 (B -*āl ast in*), 768 (B -*āi, darice*), 771 (B -*ūšidi*), 774 (B -*ān āri*), 775 (B -*ān dāri*), 775 (B -*ūri*), 775 (B -*āzi*), 776 (B -*as i, hamī zanam*), 782 (B -*ān begardānī*), 785 (B -*ar ce mīxwāhī*), 794 (X -*ā ce qam dārad*), 795 (X -*ār e mā hāšad*), 797 (X -*āy mīdānad*), 797 (X -*ar girand*), 799 (X -*ār āyad*), 800 (X -*ūr*), 801 (X -*iš*), 801 (X -*āl*), 803 (X -*aram, heraft*), 804 (X -*āram*), 804 (X -*ām bar giram*), 808 (X -*ūn*), 812 (X -*īdī*), 812 (X -*ār i, marā*), 814 (X -*āzi*), 814 (X -*anī*), 821 (Qq -*ar mīgašt*), 822 (Qq -*āz ārad*), 827 (Qq -*ām, co*)- 827 (Qq -*ām, zeh i*), 831 (Qq -*ašam hī to*), 832 (Qq -*ūi, ce*), 920 (H -*ofian nīst*, 922 (H -*ān hāšad, nadīdam*), 922 (H -*and, harīf*), 923 (H -*īd, qalam*); M 212-236, 312-314, 474-493, 908-960, 1013, 1133-1155, 1201-1203, 1214, 1282-1288, 1295-1296, 1306, 1312, 1321, 1327-1329, 1353-1359, 1722-1747, 2072-2085, 2247-2250, 2406-2417, 3048-3108.

بحر خفیف

§ 230 *bahr e xafīf* “the light metre”

By striking off the first *rokn* from the previous *vazn* (§§ 228-229) we arrive at a *masnavī*-metre of eleven syllables.

لوح سیمیش بر کنار نهاد	پادشاهی پسر بکتب داد
جو استاد به ز مهر پدر	بر سر لوح او نبشته برز
فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلان / فعلن	فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلان / فعلن

pādešāh i

louh e sīmī-

bar sar ē lou-

jour e ostā-

— — —

pesar be mak-

š^o bar kenā-

h e ū nebeš-

d^o beh ze meh-

— — —

tab dād

r^o nehād

te be zar

r e pedar

— — —

“A king sent (lit. gave) his son to school and put his silver writing-slab at his side. At the top of his slab (was) written in gold: ‘The teacher’s cruelty is better than the father’s love’”.

Saʿdī

This *vazn* is traditionally classified as a variety of the Arabic *bahr e xafīf* of which the standard *mesrāʿ*, which is not used by the Persians, is

مژدگانا که کرب عابدش زاهد و مؤمن و مسلمانا

moždegānā¹³

zāhed ō moʿ-

- - - -

ke gorbe ʕā-

men ō mosal-

- - - -

bed šod

mānā¹⁴

- -

“Good tidings! for the cat has become a servant of God: devout and faithful and Moslem!”
(Rypka 273/267.)

In this *vazn* is also the celebrated *tarjīḥband*¹⁴ by هاتف Hātef (d. 1783) with the beautiful *vāsetat ol-ʕeqd* “refrain”:

که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او وحده لا اله الا هو

ke yek i has-

vahdahō¹⁵ lā

- - - -

t o hjeʿ nī-

elāha el-

- - - -

sō joz ū

lā hū¹⁶

- - - -

“For He is One and there is naught but He: ‘One is He, there is no God but He’!”
(Rypka 308/296.)

§232 The well-known moral and ethical *masnavi* حديقة الحقيقة *hadīqat ol-haḡiqat* “Garden of Truth” by Sanāʿī (d. 1131?) is written in *bahr e xafīf* as are all other *masnaviāt* rightly or wrongly ascribed to him. Imitations of *hadīqat ol-haḡiqat*, but perhaps better than the original, are جام جم *jām e jam* “Cup of Jamšīd” by اوحدي Ouhadī (d. 1338), سلسلة الذهب *selselat oz-zahab* “The Gold Chain” composed in 1485 by Jāmī, and عرفان *ʕerfān* “Gnosis”, Bīdel’s principal work, written in 1712. (Rypka 236-237/225-226, 254/246-247, 286/277, 517-519/407-408.)

Of a quite different sort are هفت پیکر *haft peikar* “Seven Portraits”, the last of Nezāmī’s *masnaviāt*, composed in 1197, in which he describes the exploits of بهرام گور Bahrām e Gūr, and its celebrated imitation هشت بهشت *hašt behešt* “Eight Paradises” by Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī (d. 1325). Mention must also be made of شاه و درویش *šāh o darvīš* “The Prince and the Pauper” by Helālī (d. 1529). (Rypka 211-212/204, 258/250, 285-286 & 500-501/276.)

References: GI 7 *bis*, 8 *bis*, 15, 16, 51, 52, 64, 118, 128, 172, 221, 222, 224, 257-261, 268, 273, 274, 298, 308, 313; GII 12-13, 42, 78, 115, 149, 186 *bis*, 218, 219 *bis*, 262, 276, 295; GIII: 43, 59, 148 *bis*, 154, 244, 258; H 13, 42, 56, 262, 270, 302, 381, 453; S 463 (Q -al, šokr), 472 (Q -ān, barg), 485 (Q -ābī), 543 (T -āxt), 544 (T -ārat, handevār), 569 (T -īdan nīst¹⁶), 570 (T -īr e to nīst), 571 (T -ān dāšt), 584 (T -ar bāšad), 595 (T -ār konad), 617 (T -āz, ei), 617 (T -āz, motaqalleb), 619 (T -īz, sāqi yē), 621 (T -āraš, har ke nāzok), 621 (T -āraš, har ke nāmehrabān), 623 (T -ānaš), 647 (T -āham), 660 (T -ān goftan), 668 (T -āī, tā), 671 (T -āī,

13 Cf. §121 end.

14 Cf. §144.

15 Cf. §126.

16 This rhyme is a transgression against the rules given in §§130 and 135.

hame), 677 (T -and ī, goftam), 678 (T -arī, ei ke), 682 (T -ar ī, gar), 701 (T -ūy, marhubā), 716 (B -in ast), 722 (B -as ī st), 726 (B -ānat, āfarin), 729 (B -ard), 750 (B -ābaš), 751 (B -ānaš, har ke hast), 772 (B -ar ī, didam), 779 (B -an ī, zendē), 780 (B -an ī, sar), 785 (B -ārī), 790 (X -ar ast), 794 (X -ar namītābad), 805 (X -ānam, has), 806 (X -arīm), 807 (X -ānīm), 815 (X -ānī), 919 (H -anj ast), 919 (H -ā nīst), 920 (H -ošt, zar), 920 (H -ošt, tatar ī), 921 (H -oft), 922 (H -el bāšad), 922 (H -ān āmad), 923 (H -āyad, mardak ī), 924 (H -as, rūy), 926 (H -ābe), 927 (H -abri), 928 (H -an ī), 929¹⁷, 930-931¹⁷ 931-934¹⁷; M 245-249, 315, 317, 496-502, 520, 966-992, 1156-1164, 1177, 1290-1291, 1294, 1300, 1322-1323, 1364, 1751-1767, 2099-2103, 2419-2421, 3141-3163.

بحر منسرح

§233 *bahr e monsareh* "the facile metre"

By adding one long syllable to both ends of the previous *vazn* (§230) we arrive at the following rhythm:

کاشک دلم باز یافتی خبر تن	کاشک تنم باز یافتی خبر دل
ای فوسا کجا توانم رستن	کاشک من از تو برستمی بدامت
مفعّلن فاعلات مفعّلن مفعولن فع	مفعّلن فاعلات مفعّلن فع
<i>kāš^{kə}18 tanam</i>	<i>bāz^a yāf^a-</i>
<i>kāš^{kə}18 delam</i>	<i>tī xabar ē</i>
<i>kāš^{kə}18 man az</i>	<i>tī xabar ē</i>
<i>eyy^a19 fosū-</i>	<i>mī be salā-</i>
<i>sā kojā ta-</i>	<i>vānam ras-</i>
<i>tan²⁰</i>	

"I wish my body knew about my heart! I wish my heart knew about my body! I wish I had escaped safely from you! Alas! How can I escape"?

RābeSe ye Qozdārī

In the transcription the traditional scansion has been followed. This rhythm is said to be a variety of the Arabic *bahr e monsareh* of which the basic *mesrāʿ*, never used in Persian poetry, is

17 The poem being a *masnavi* the rhyming element has not been given.

18 Cf. §39.

19 Cf. §112.

20 Cf. §130. The rhyming element is *tan*, identical in sound, but not in meaning.

مستفعلن مفعولات مستفعلن مفعولات

mostafʕelon

mafʕulāto

mostafʕelon

mafʕulāto

- - - ∪ -

- - - ∪

- - - ∪ -

- - - ∪

By making this rhythm *matvī*—shortening the second syllable in each *rokn*, §215—and by making it منحور *manhūr* “strangled”, i.e. by reducing the last *rokn* from - - - ∪ to -, we arrive at the desired rhythm, which is therefore termed *bahr e monsareh e mosamman e matvī ye manhūr* “the strangled folded eightfold facile metre”. If we are pedantic we must add *matvī va maqtūʕ ol-hašv* to describe the last *mesrāʕ* in the above example, the term مقطوع *maqtūʕ* “cut” describing the “change” from - - ∪ - to - - -.

§234 In this not very common *vazn* is written the famous poem by Rūdakī (d. 940) describing the production of wine beginning

بچه اورا گرفت و کرد بزنند

مادر می را بکرد باید فشان

mādar e mei

rā bekard^a

hāyad qor-

bān

bacce ye ū

rā gereft o

kard^a be zen-

dān

- ∪ ∪ -

- ∪ - ∪

- ∪ ∪ -

-

“One must sacrifice the mother of the wine, take her child and imprison it”.

and also the two first *qazaliāt* in Saʕdī's *tayyebāt* in praise of God and His prophet.

References: GI 3, 106, 128, 184; GIII 223, 249, 265; H 127, 232; S 532 (T -ā, *avval*), 532 (T -āl e *mohammad*), 534 (T -ā, *rī*), 551 (T -ast *ast*), 561 (T -in *ast*), 574 (T -āmat), 626 (T -āef), 649 (T -astim), 731 (B -irad), 739 (B -ār *namānad*), 743 (B -ūd, *motreb*); M 899, 3029-3032.

§235 Closely related to the above *vazn* is the doubled *vazn* of the following example.

هیچ نه معلوم شد آه که من چپستم
هستم اگر میروم گر زروم نیستم
مستفعلن فاعلن مستفعلن فاعلن

ساحل افتاده گفت گرچه بسی ز رستم
موج ز خود رفته ای تیر خرامید و گفت
مستفعلن فاعلن فاعلن مستفعلن فاعلن فاعلن

sāhel e of-

tāde goft

garce bas ī

zis^a tamhīc^a na maʕ-lūm^a šodāh^a ke mancīs^a tammouj e ze x^aod

rafte ī

tīz^a xarā-

mid o goft

hastam agar mīravam gar naravam nīs'tam

- u - u -

- u -

| - u - u -

- u -

“The fallen cliff (lit. coast) said: ‘Though I have lived long, nothing has become clear (to me). Alas that (I do not know) what am I’. A proud wave moved quickly and said: ‘If I move, I exist; if not, I don’t’”. Eqbāl

According to the principles with which we are now familiar, we may term this *bahr e monsareh e mosamman e matvī ye maksūf*²¹ “the heel-cut folded eightfold facile metre”.

§236 In §156 we learnt that - u - u - is occasionally substituted for - u - u -. A good example of this is seen in the poem by محمود صبا Mahmūd e Sabā (d. 1893) beginning

پرزگل و سنبل است کیره گلزارها بیاباغ ای صنم بهل همه کارها

por ze gol ō

somhol ast

yeksarē gol-

zār'hā

biā he hā-

q ei sanam

behel hamē

kār'hā

- u - u -

- u -

- u - u -

- u -

“The gardens are everywhere full of roses and hyacinths. Come to the garden, darling, leave all works”.

This *beit* would be classified *bahr e monsareh e mosamman e maxbūn ou*²² *matvī va matvī ye maksūf*.

This *vazn* is not very common. References: GI 311; GIII 235, 285; H 170; S 573 (T -ām raft), 605 (T -ar šavad), 612 (T -ār, xoftan), 612 (T -ār, doulat), 612 (T -ār, rah), 630 (T -ām, šam), 630 (T -ām, māl), 658 (T -āxtan), 659 (T -ūxtan), 659 (T -īxtan), 689 (T -šī), 713 (B -ā st, selsele), 713 (B -ā st, sahr), 718 (B -ān e ū st), 721 (B -ū ye dūst, āb), 737 (B -and), 749 (B -ir), 764 (B -ū ye man); M 204-211, 311, 460-473, 881-898, 1012, 1123-1132, 1200, 1212-1213, 1270-1279, 1304-1305, 1311, 1349-1352, 1361, 1714-1721, 2055-2070, 2242-2245, 2402-2405, 3008-3027.

بحر مضارع

§237 *bahr e mozāre* “the similar metre”

بی انتداب مشکل ما حل نمی شود واین وحی بی مجاهده منزل نمی شود

21 Cf. §217 for the term *maksūf*.

22 Cf. §42.

از دزدی است و راه حرام آنچه هست نیست
پول حلال کاخ مجلل نمی شود

bī enqelāb" moškel e mā hal namīšavad
v ī" vahy" bī mojāheḏe monzal namīšavad
az dozdi ast²³ o rāh e harām ā"ce hast o nīst
pūl ē halāl" kāx e mojallal namīšavad

— — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ —

“Without a revolution our difficulty cannot be solved, and this revelation is not sent down (i.e. this is not a revelation so as to come to us) without struggle. All that there is or is not is due to (lit. from) theft and unlawful ways: honest money does not become a brilliant palace”.

Axavān e Sāles (Sept. 1949)

It would be natural to subdivide the above *vazn* in *arkān* as follows

فعلن مفاعلهن فعاتن مفاعلهن

faʿlon

mafāʿelon

faʿelāton

mafāʿelon

— —

∪ — ∪ —

∪ ∪ — —

∪ — ∪ —

It could then be considered a variety of *bahr e xafīf*, namely *bahr e xafīf e mosamman e maxbūn e aslam os-sadrein*. Cf. §§230 and 220.

This is not the way it is done, however. Instead the traditional prosodists analyse it as follows:

مفعول فاعلات مفاعيل فاعلهن

mafʿūlo

fāʿelāto

mafāʿilo

fāʿelon

— — ∪

— ∪ — ∪

∪ — — ∪

— ∪ —

This clumsy analysis brings out the rhythm less clearly and moreover splits up the two shorts in the middle of the *vazn*, so that whenever — is substituted for ∪∪ the analysis and designation has to be changed. Cf. §221.

This *vazn* is classified as a variety of the Arabic *bahr e mozāreʿ* of which the standard *mesrāʿ* is

مفاعيلن فاعلاتن مفاعيلن فاعلاتن

mafāʿilon

fāʿelāton

mafāʿilon

fāʿelāton

∪ — — —

— ∪ — —

∪ — — —

— ∪ — —

23 Cf. §98 end.

This rhythm is then made *axrab*—the first *rokn* is changed to – – ˘ (Cf. §220)—and *makfūf*—the final long syllables are shortened in all *arkān*²⁴ (cf. §220)—and *mahzūf*. Thus we arrive at the rhythm of our example, which is therefore classified as *bahr e mozāreʿ e axrab e makfūf e mahzūf* “the ear-pierced restrained apocopated eightfold similar metre”, but of course it is generally referred to simply as *bahr e mozāreʿ*.

§238 This is one of the most common *ouzān*, and the one which I personally like best. Of the many well-known poems in this *vazn*, we shall only mention two:

The beautiful *qazal* by Moulavī (d. 1273) beginning:

بنمای رخ که باغ و گلستانم آرزوست	گشای لب که قند فراوانم آرزوست
<i>benmāy- hogšāy- - ˘</i>	<i>rox ke bāq o lah ke qand e - ˘ - ˘</i>
گولستان- فراوان- ˘ - - ˘	م آرزو st م آرزو st - ˘ -

“Show your face, for I desire orchards and gardens! Open your lips, for I desire abundant sugar”!

The very popular *tarkibband*²⁵ on the martyrdom of حسین Hosein by محشم کاشانی Mohtašam e Kāšānī (d. 1587) beginning:

باز این چه شورش است که در خلق عالم است	باز این چه نوحه و چه عزاد چه ماتم است
<i>bāz in ce bāz in ce - - ˘</i>	<i>šūreš ast nouhe wō ce - ˘ - ˘</i>
ke dar xalq e šazā wō ce ˘ - - ˘	Sālam ast mātam ast - ˘ -

“What commotion is this there is once more among the people of the world? Once more, what lamentation and what wailing and what mourning is this”?

(Rypka 298/287-288.)

References: GI 5, 34, 41, 42, 49, 58, 62 *bis*, 63, 64, 65, 104, 125, 141, 175, 188, 207, 215, 249, 261, 273, 278, 280, 291, 298, 300; GII 28, 41, 42, 43, 58, 75, 77, 78, 94, 99, 103, 112, 131, 134, 144, 174, 176, 182, 189, 193, 197, 220, 221, 256, 266, 284, 298; GIII 4, 10, 16, 22, 35, 57, 59, 71, 74 *bis*, 79, 80, 87, 88, 90 *bis*, 94, 99, 104, 105, 106, 113, 114, 121, 135, 139, 147 *bis*, 162, 163, 198, 203, 206, 210, 213, 215, 235, 240, 242, 276, 283, 285, 291, 294, 298, 314, 317-326, 334, 337; H 7, 11, 30, 33, 39, 59, 60, 63, 65, 72, 78, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 100, 102, 133, 138, 139, 180, 186, 196, 198, 200, 214, 220, 225, 226, 229, 243, 246, 253, 254, 260, 275, 285, 291, 312, 313, 320, 321, 329, 338, 343, 351, 353, 362, 364, 365, 372, 375, 394-396, 398, 400, 406, 408, 409, 413, 415, 424, 429, 437, 439, 451, 459, 465, 479, 482, 486, 487:

²⁴ This, of course, does not apply to the last *rokn* where the final syllable has disappeared completely. In the first *rokn* the last syllable is already short since it is *axrab*.

²⁵ Cf. §144.

S 438 (Q -ā), 448 (Q -ār kard), 470 (Q -ān, īn), 481 (Q -ā ye to), 489 (Q -arī), 492 (Q -el ī), 499 (Mr -ān heraft), 538 (T -āh rā), 539 (T -ast e mā), 542 (T -īb²⁶, raftī), 551 (T -ān e to st), 554 (T -ar ast, az), 555 (T -ar ast, īn), 556 (T -āb x^woštār ast), 558 (T -am ast), 559 (T -an ast), 563 (T -ān e dūst), 564 (T -ānat ārezū st), 582 (T -ār hogzarad), 597 (T -amand), 601 (T -ū bovad), 602 (T -ā ravad, hexyār), 602 (T -ā ravad, 'eib ī), 606 (T -ak ī šavad), 610 (T -ār bengarid), 614 (T -ā ye yār), 618 (T -īz, peivand), 620 (T -āhataš), 620 (T -ūs), 627 (T -ūl, hīdel), 634 (T -ar šodam), 643 (T -anam, gar), 651 (T -arīm), 652 (T -ā konim, har xīz tā be šahd), 652 (T -ā konim, har xīz tā tariq), 661 (T -ar soxan), 665 (T -āh), 674 (T -āyat ī), 678 (T -arī, ei barq), 681 (T -ar ī, kas), 683 (T -arī, har noubatam), 693 (T -anī, āsūde), 693 (T -anī, pākizē), 698 (T -ar konī), 707 (B -āb rā), 714 (B -ān e to st), 714 (B -ūy x^woštār ast), 717 (B -ār e ū st), 717 (B -ām e ū st), 718 (B -āy e ū st), 719 (B -āl e dūst), 719 (B -ām e dūst), 720 (B -ān e dūst), 721 (B -ū ye dūst, šādī), 724 (B -īb nīst), 726 (B -ār har gereft), 728 (B -am ūftad), 730 (B -ā ke bord), 737 (B -ām šod), 739 (B -īde and), 744 (B -ar bovad), 765 (B -and e ū), 766 (B -šte ī), 773 (B -arī, raftī), 782 (B -ār mīkonī), 783 (B -ān begūy), 791 (X -āl e dūst), 793 (X -ar fetād), 798 (X -ār mīkonad), 799 (X -ūn šavad), 799 (X -aram ei dūst dast gir), 805 (X -ār mīkonam), 810 (X -āl ī nayāfte), 815 (X -īz mīkonī), 819 (Qq -ā ye to st), 820 (Qq -ālat ast), 820 (Qq -am ast), 821 (Qq -āl e dūst), 826 (Qq -ā ye x^wīš), 826 (Qq -āq), 831 (Qq -īnē ī), 919 (H -ādan ast), 923 (H -as, somrat), 924 (H -as, hamjens), 924 (H -āq); M 197-203, 308-310, 441-459, 861-880, 1116-1122, 1198-1199, 1268, 1298-1299, 1348, 1704-1713, 2044-2054, 2233-2241, 2400-2401, 2972-3006.

§239 By reducing the above *vazn* to eleven syllables we arrive at the very rare *masnavi*-variety: *bahr e mozāre²⁶ e mosaddas e axrah e makfūf e sālem²⁷* "the ear-pierced restrained sound sixfold similar metre".

ای آنکه نمکنی و سزاواری	واندر نهان سرشک همی باری
رفت آنکه رفت و آمد آنک آمد	بود آنکه بود خیره چه غم داری
مفعول فاعلاتن مفاعیلن / مفعولن	مفعول فاعلات مفاعیلن

ei `āⁿ ke
v andar ne-
raft āⁿ ke
būd āⁿ ke

— — ∪

(— — ∪

qamgenī yo
hāⁿ serešk²⁸
raft o āmad
būd²⁹ xirē

— ∪ — ∪

— ∪ — —

sezāvārī
hamī bārī
`ānk āmad
ce qam dārī

∪ — — —

— — — third *mesrā*³⁰)

²⁶ The rhyming element in this *qazal* is a good specimen of *emāle*. Cf. §145.

²⁷ The order of the terms is important: the first, second and third *rokn* are *axrah*, *makfūf* and *sālem* respectively.

“O you (lit. he) who are (both) sad and worthy and weep tears in secret! What has gone has gone and what has arrived has arrived. What is past is past. Why do you regret groundlessly”? Rūdakī (d. 940)

According to the traditional terminology the second *beit* should be described as *bahr e mozāreš e mosaddas e axrab e sālem e moxannaq* ou *axrab e makfūf e sālem*, the term *مخنق moxannaq* “suffocated” indicating the change of *و* --- to *ـ* --- in any *rokn* except the first where a similarly modified *rokn* would be termed *اخرم axram* “pierced through the nose”. Cf. §254.

Reference: Gl 13.

§240 Closely related to the last two *ouzān* is the doubled metre of the following example

بود و وجود ما را پاک از عدم نباشد	جوقی قلندر انیم بر ما قسم نباشد
گر هیچمان نباشد از هیچ غم نباشد	مشتی مجرود انیم بر فقر دل نهاده
مفعول فاعلاتن مفعول فاعلاتن	مفعول فاعلاتن مفعول فاعلاتن

<i>jouq ī qa-</i>	<i>landarānim</i>
<i>būd ō vo-</i>	<i>jūd e mārā</i>
<i>mošt ī mo-</i>	<i>jarradānim</i>
<i>gar hīce-</i>	<i>mā" nabāšad</i>

— — —

— — —

<i>bar mā qa-</i>	<i>lam nabāšad</i>
<i>bāk az ṣa-</i>	<i>dam nabāšad</i>
<i>bar faqr"</i>	<i>del nehāde</i>
<i>az hīc"</i>	<i>qam nabāšad</i>

— — —

— — —

“We are a group of vagabonds and have no responsibility (lit. on us there is no pen). Our being and existence has no fear of poverty²⁸. We are a handful of free (men), our hearts set on poverty. If we possess nothing, we worry about nothing”. ʿObeid e Zākānī (d. 1371)

This *vazn*, which is not too common, must be termed *bahr e mozāreš e axrab va*²⁹ *sālem*.

References: Gl 59, 176; GII 95, 136, 223, 268; GIII 9, 134, 256; H 5, 94, 126, 154, 171, 231, 233, 307, 392, 425, 426, 432, 434, 435, 444, 462, 464, 489; S 576 (T -ānat, x^m qš), 579 (T -ārad, didār), 585 (T -ar nabāšad, bū), 588 (T -in nabāšad, gar), 656 (T -ārān, hogzār), 658 (T -ānān), 667 (T -āne), 675 (T -ādī, ei), 683 (T -ārī, cūn), 685 (T -ār ī, ṣomr ī), 688 (T -irī), 692 (T -āmī, sāhebnazar), 695 (T -ānī, zouq ī), 707 (B -ā rā, moštāqī), 732 (B -ūn zad), 747 (B -am bar āyad), 778 (B āl ī), 784 (B -āh ī), 795 (X -ar hebāšad), 829 (Qq -ār

28 *ṣadam* also means “privation, loss, annihilation” and these meanings are intended, too.

29 Note the use of *va*, cf. §223.

dāram); M 185-196, 305-307, 436-440, 839-860, 1111-1115³⁰, 1211, 1261-1267, 1310, 1685-1703, 2027-2043, 2386-2399, 2931-2971, 3194-3195.

بحر قریب

§ 241 *bahr e qarīb* "the close metre"

At this place mention should be made of a rhythm which, though not fitting directly into Circle Four, bears a certain likeness to the rhythms of this circle, being constituted of the same basic elements, namely $\cup\cup--$ and $\cup--\cup$.

یک موی بدزدیدم از دو زلفت چون زلف زدی ای صنم بشانه
چونانش سختی همی کشیدم چون مور که کندم کشد بخانه
با موی بخانه شدم پدر گفت منصور که ام است از این دو گانه

yek mūy" bedozdīdam az do zolfat
cū" zolf" zadī ei sanam be šāne
cūnā"š" be saxti hamī kešīdam
cū" mūr" ke gandom kešad be xāne
bā mūy" be xānē šodam pedar goft
mansūr" kodām ast az ī" do gūne

- - $\cup\cup$ - - \cup - \cup - -

"I stole one hair from your two tresses, when you were combing them, darling. I pulled it along with such difficulty, like an ant, who pulls (a grain of) wheat to (its) home. I went home with the hair. Father said: 'Which one of these two is Mansūr'?" *Mansūr e Manteqī* (d. ca. 985)

This is traditionally analysed as

مفعول مفاعیل فاعلاتن

maf'ūlo

mafā'ilo

fā'elāton

- - \cup

\cup - - \cup

- \cup - -

30 No 1112 has many Arabic quotations which Moulavī has allowed to follow the Arab rules of permitted variations.

and said to be derived from the Arabic *bahr e qarīb*, of which the standard *mesrāʿ* is

مفاعيلن مفاعيلن فاعلاتن

mafāʿilon

و ---

mafāʿilon

و ---

fāʿelāton

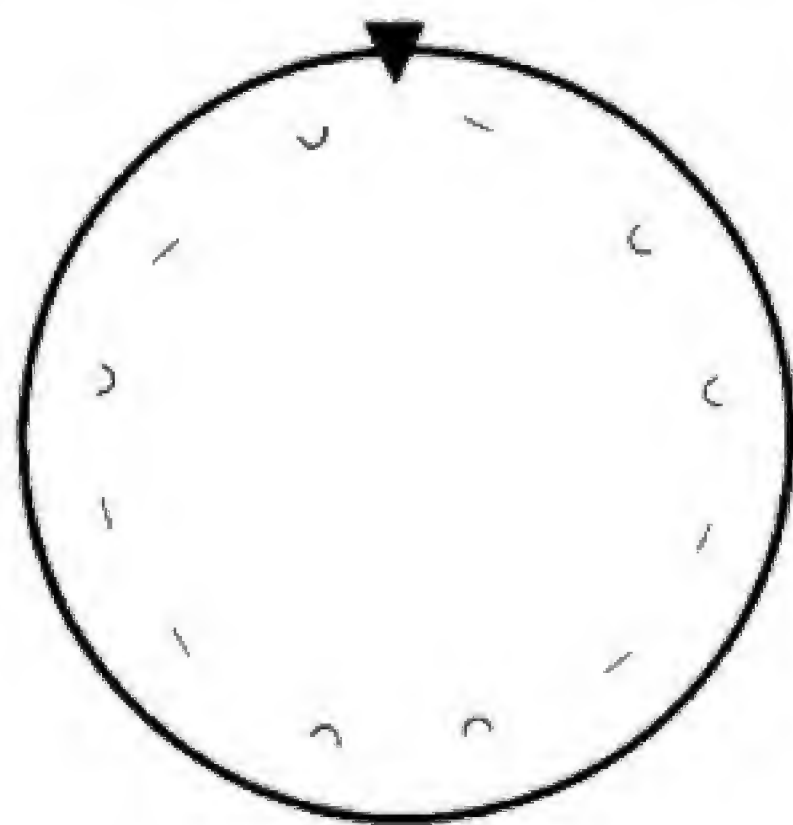
-- و ---

Hence the above example is classified as *bahr e qarīb e mosaddas e axrab e makfūf e sālem* “the ear-pierced restrained sound sixfold metre”. Cf. §239 footnote 27.

This *vazn* is rare. References: GI 43, 48.

§242 Another variety of *bahr e qarīb* was seen in §158. That rhythm can be described as *bahr e qarīb e mosaddas e sālem os-sadr*³¹ *va axrab ol-ʿebtedā va axrab ou makfūf ol-hašavein*³¹ *va maqsūr*³² *oz-zarhein*³¹, the term *ebtedā* “beginning” indicating the first *rokn* of the second *mesrāʿ*.

§243 To account for this metre Šams e Qeis constructed a new circle, his third circle³³:



It is seen that we must start the counting from the fourth syllable to arrive at the rhythm of the example in §241.

A number of the *ouẓān* described so far can be fitted into this circle which is really a crossing of Circles III and IV. Thus the *vazn* described in §216 counting from the first syllable, the *vazn* described in §230 counting from the sixth syllable, the *vazn* described in §233 counting from the fifth syllable, the *vazn* described in §239 counting from the eighth syllable. (Remember that the last syllable of a *mesrāʿ* is indifferent with regard to length).

§244 In addition to these, two extremely rare *bohūr* may be fitted into this circle, namely:

بحر جديد *bahr e judīd* “the new metre”, sometimes also called *بحر غريب* *bahr e qarīb* “the strange metre”. The Persian standard form is *maxhūn*³⁴: و و --- و و --- و --- و.

بحر اخير *bahr e axīr* “the recent metre”, also called *بحر مشاكل* *bahr e mošākel* “the convenient metre”. The Persian standard form is *makfūf*³⁴: - و - و و --- و و --- و.

The student is not likely to meet with examples of these two *bohūr* outside the manuals of prosody.

31 Cf. §185.

32 Cf. §42.

33 See *al-moʿjam*, p. 72.

34 I.e. from the point of view of the Arabic standard form.

§245 Elwell-Sutton does not make use of a separate circle or pattern to describe these rhythms. Instead he uses the term "broken metres" which "are formed by the omission of a four-syllable section of the pattern". In his code numbers, he indicates the number of syllables before and after the "break".

Thus he lists the *vazn* described in §241 as 4.7.02/09 — 00—0 0—, and the standard form of *bahr e jadid* as 4.5.04/08 00— 00—0—0—³⁵.

The method is quite ingenious. The only thing which might be objected to is that there is no break in these rhythms.



§246 *bahr e moqtazab* "the extempore metre"

Before proceeding to Circle Five mention must also be made of the very rare *bahr e moqtazab*. The Arabic standard form is — — — 0 — — 0 —. The Persian standard form is *matvī* — 0 — 0 — 0 0 —. Hāfez has a *qazal* in this *vazn*, in which — has been substituted for 0 0 throughout.

Reference: H 473.

³⁵ Elwell-Sutton pp. 88, 104 and 107. Cf. §165 above.

COMPOUND METRES TRADITIONALLY CONSIDERED TO
BE VARIETIES OF SIMPLE METRES (THE FIFTH CIRCLE)

§ 247 Just like the *ouzān* of Circle III, the *ouzān* of this circle, too, are traditionally considered varieties of Circle II. Since in this circle compound metres are classified as varieties of simple metres, the traditional terminology becomes very cumbersome. As mentioned above (§ 162), Circle V is merely Circle IV read counter-clockwise.

بحر رمل مشکول

§ 248 *bahr e ramal e maškūl* “the tied running metre”

نه همین لباس زیباست نشان آدمیت	تن آدمی شریف است بجان آدمیت
چه میان نقش دیوار و میان آدمیت	اگر آدمی بخشم هست و دهان و گوش و بینی
فعلات فاعلاتن فعلات فاعلاتن	فعلات فاعلاتن فعلات فاعلاتن

*tan e āda-
na hamī" le-
agar āda-
ce miān e*

— — — —

*mī šarīf as-
bās e zībā
mī be çeşm as-
naqş e dīvā-*

— — — —

*t" be jān e
s" neşān e
t o dahān o
r o miān e*

— — — —

*ādamīyat
ādamīyat
gūş o binī
ādamīyat*

— — — —

“Noble is the human body by its soul of humanity. (It is) not this beautiful clothing (that) is the sign of humanity. If being a man is by (i.e. if one is a man by virtue of) eye and mouth and ear and nose, what (difference

would there then be) between a picture on the wall and between humanity¹?

Saʿdī

A *rokn* in which both the first and the last syllable have been shortened is termed *maškūl* "tied". Hence the above *vazn* is classified as *bahr e ramal e mosamman e maškūl va*² *sālem* "the tied and sound eightfold running metre", normally referred to simply as *bahr e ramal e maškūl*.

§249 It should be noticed that in this *vazn* ˊ ˊ is not substituted for ˊ ˊ in the first *rokn*, and likewise the substitution of - for ˊ ˊ is extremely rare. Cf. §152.

This *vazn* is generally doubled, thus the example given in §154.

It is not very common.

References: GI 103; GII 141, 160, 257; GIII 139, 204, 228; H 6, 117, 468; S 542 (T -ībat), 577 (T -īyat), 584 (T -āz bāšad), 585 (T -ā nabāšad), 620 (T -andaš), 632 (T -oftam, co), 637 (T -āh dāram), 638 (T -īram, be xodā), 656 (T -ndān), 670 (T -āi, xaharat), 686 (T -āh dāri, co), 687 (T -āh dāri, to), 690 (T -āl ī), 697 (T -āni, na tarīq), 702 (T -āhi), 733 (B -īzad, be hadis), 769 (B -āh ī, sar), 770 (B -astī), 774 (B -ām dāri), 795 (X -ar nabāšad), 819 (Qq -andat); M 163-166, 301, 766-774, 1084-1085, 1249, 1619-1627, 1985-1987, 2212, 2376, 2828-2858.

بحر رجز

§250

[*bahr e rajaz*]

سینه بنده جای تو دیده زیر پای تو	ماه مه در هوای تو تو بهوای کیستی
تاریخ خود نموده ای جان ز تنم ربوده ای	آتش من فروده ای مهر فرای کیستی
مفتعلن مفاعلهن	مفتعلن مفاعلهن

sine ye ban-
mā hamē dar
tā rox e x"od
ātaš e man

dē jā ye tō
havā ye tō
nomūde ī
fozūde ī

dide be zī-
tō be havā
jā" ze tanam
mehr'fazā

r e pā ye tō
ye kīs'tī
robūde ī
ye kīs'tī

— ˊ ˊ ˊ —

ˊ — ˊ —

| — ˊ ˊ ˊ —

ˊ — ˊ —

1 It is a popular joke amongst the Persians to mispronounce the first *heit* and make a pause after *na*. The meaning is thereby changed to: "Noble is the human body by its soul of humanity. Oh no, it is not! It is the beautiful clothing, that is the sign of humanity".

2 Cf. §223.

“The breast of my humble self (ought to be) thy seat. (My) eye (I want to place) under thy feet. We are all longing for thee. Whom art thou longing for? As soon as thou shewedst thy face, thou snatchedst away my soul from my body. Thou hast increased my fire. Whose lover³ art thou”?

Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī

This *vazn* is termed *bahr e rajaz e mosamman e matvī va maxbūn* “the folded and hemmed eightfold smarting metre”, since the *arkān* can alternately be considered as *matvī* and *maxbūn* varieties of *mostafʿelon* – – ∪ –.

§251 This *vazn*, which is not very common, is often doubled as in the above example, where the doubling has been marked off by internal rhyme.

References: GII 140, 183, 274; GIII 51, 69, 85; H 192, 296, 382, 411, 414; S 577 (T -āiat), 620 (T -āmataš), 642 (T -anam, çeşm), 657 (T -şân), 664 (T -û ye û), 666 (T -aste î), 680 (T -arî, dānamat), 681 (T -arî, rûy), 688 (T -s î), 699 (T -āz mîkonî)⁴, 736 (B -āl šod), 757 (B -elam, bār), 757 (B -elam, tā), 763 (B -āl e man), 773 (B -ar î, gar), 780 (B -(a)nî, kas), 784 (B -hî), 825 (Qq -ānamaš); M 44-52, 322-323, 548-561, 1020-1021, 1205-1206, 1220, 1301-1302, 1336, 1402-1411, 1821-1843, 2147-2159, 2263, 2285-2289, 2464-2497, 3179.

بحر هزج

§252

[bahr e hazaj]

گویند مرا چو زاد مادر	پستان بدهن گرفتن آموخت
شبها برگاهواره من	بیدار نشست و ختن آموخت
مفعول مفاعیلن فعولن	مفعول مفاعیلن فعولان

gūyand^a

marā co zā-

d^a mādarpestā^a be

dahan geref-

tan āmūxt

šabhā ba-

r e gāh^avā-

re yē man

bidār^a

nešast o xof-

tan āmūxt

– – ∪

∪ – ∪ –

∪ – –

3 Untranslatable pun: *mehrfazā* also means “increaser of fire”.

4 The last *beit* in this qazal furnishes an illustrative example of the utility of a knowledge of prosody: it would be difficult to understand it without knowing the *vazn*.

“They say that when my mother bore me, she taught me to take the teat in my mouth. During the nights she sat awake at my cradle and taught me to sleep”.

ایرج میرزا Īraj Mīrzā (d. 1924)

This *vazn* is classified *bahr e hazaj e mosaddas e axrab e maqbūz e mahzūf*⁵ “the ear-pierced restricted apocopated eightfold shaking metre”, the term *ماقبوض*, *maqbūz* “restricted” indicating a *rokn* in which the third syllable has been shortened.

§253 In spite of the fact that this *vazn* only comprises ten syllables, a large number of *masnaviāt* has been composed in it, the most famous of which is *leilī yo majnūn*⁶ *لیلی و مجنون* composed in 1188 by Nezāmī. Of course Jāmī too has his *leilī yo majnūn*⁶, composed in 1484, and so has Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī (d. 1325) who preferred to call his version *majnūn o leilī*⁷, but the best imitation is the admirable *leilī yo majnūn* by *مکتبی* Maktabī, composed in 1489-90. (Rypka 210-213/202-205, 287/277, 258/250.)

Mention must also be made of the mystical *masnaviāt*. *مصباح الارواح* *meshbāh ol-arvāh* “The Lamp of the Spirits” by *اوحد الدین* Ouhad od-Dīn (d. 1298) and *حالتنامه* *hālnāme* “The Book of Ecstasy”, better known as *جوگان و گوی* *gūy o cougān* “The Ball and the Polo-stick”, composed in 1438-39 by *عارفی* Ārefī, and of the *masnavī* *تحفة العراقین* *tohfāt ol-ṣerāqein* “Gift of the two Iraqs”⁸ in which Xāqānī (d. 1199) describes his pilgrimage to Mecca, and its imitation *قصه عراقین* *qesse ye ṣerāqein* “Tale of the two Iraqs”⁸ by *شفای* Šefāī (d. 1628). (Rypka 254/247, 284/275, 204-205/197, 300/290.)

Also in other forms of poetry this *vazn* is quite common and it is the rhythm of Saʿdī’s celebrated *tarjībānd*⁹ with the well-known *vāsetat ol-ṣeqd* “refrain”:

بنشینم و صبر پیش گیرم دنبال کار خویش گیرم

benšīna-
dombāle

m o sabr⁸ pī-
ye kār e x⁹ī-

š⁹ gīram
š⁹ gīram

— — —

— — —

— — —

“Let me sit down and be patient and continue with my own work”.

References: GI 244, 285, 301, 312, 313; GII 7-12, 77, 118; GIII 53-56, 168, 262, 340-343; H 107, 118, 148, 163, 172; S 540 (T -āb, mārā), 546 (T -āst, bū), 546 (T -āst, x⁹oš), 548 (T -āb ast), 550 (T -āt ast), 556 (T -ār ast), 560 (T -ān ast, in bād), 560 (T -ān ast, in xatt), 583 (T -ar āvord), 586 (T -ar nabāšad, tā), 611 (T -ār, āmad), 613 (T -ār, šart), 615 (T -ūr, parvāne), 615 (T -īr, ān), 624 (T -ūš, raftī), 626 (T -ang), 634 (T -ūdam, man), 636 (T -ari nadidam), 637 (T -ār dāram), 638 (T -īram, gar), 642 (T -ālam), 654 (T -ān, ei) 655 (T -ān, bar xīz), 662 (T -ā kon), 666 (T -āde), 694 (T -ānī, ei) 727 (B -ānat, gar), 759 (B -ānam,

5 Cf. §239 footnote 27.

6 Or *leilā wo majnūn*.

7 Or *majnūn o leilā*.

8 I.e. Persian Iraq and Arabian Iraq.

9 See §144.

gar), 783 (B -ūy), 790 (X -ast), 791 (X -ūst), 792 (X -ar nīst), 807 (X -ār gūyam), 809 (X -ū), 927 (H -anje), 929 (H -ini, ei fetne), 929 (H -ini, gar); M 114-130, 297, 364-382, 689-727, 1008, 1049-1059, 1175, 1190-1193, 1238-1242, 1307, 1324, 1548-1580, 1919-1934, 2190-2194, 2348-2361, 2726-2773, 3189.

§254 The eleven syllable version of this metre, *bahr e hazaj e mosaddas e axrah e maqbūz e sālem*, is not common.

و آنرا بدو طریق احسان است	شک نیست که هر که چیزی دارد
احسان آن است و بس آن است	لیکن چو کسی بود که نتواند
در ناستدن هزار چندان است	چندان که مروت است در دادن
مفعول / مفعولین / مفاعیلین / فاعلین / مفاعیلان	مفعول مفاعیلین مفاعیلین
šak nīst ¹⁰	ke har ke cī-
v ā ⁿ rā be-	dehad tarī-
līken co	kas ī bovad
ehsān ā-	n ast o bas
candā ⁿ ke	morovvat as-
dar nāse-	tadan hezā-
- - ∪	∪ - ∪ -
(- - -	- ∪ -
	zak ī dārad
	q e ehsān ast
	ke nastānad ¹⁰
	naāsān ast
	t ¹ dar dādan
	r ² candān ast
	∪ - - -
	∪ - - - fourth mesrā ⁹)

"There is no doubt, that whoever has something and gives it, (that) is the way of meritorious action, but when there is someone who does not take, (then) that is meritorious action, and (that) is very difficult. Whatever generosity there is in giving, there is a thousand times as much in not-taking".
Anvarī (d. 1189?)

In the second *mesrā*⁹ of the second *heit* - has been substituted for ∪∪. It is therefore traditionally classified as *bahr e hazaj e mosaddas e axrah os-sadr va axram*¹¹ *ol-'ebtedā*¹² *va maqbūz ou aštar ol-hašavein va sālem oz-zarbein*, the term *aštar* "inverted" indicating the change from ∪ - - - to - ∪ -.

References: GI 124, 214, 326; S 644 (T -ānam, ei), 676 (T -ardī, didī), 695 (T -āni, jam⁹ ī); M 113, 685-688, 1546-1547, 2189, 2723-2725.

10 Cf. §102.

11 Cf. §239.

12 Cf. §§185 and 242.

وزن رباعی

THE *ROBĀʿĪ* METRE

§ 255 It is said that the poet Rūdakī once while walking and enjoying the delightful sights of غزنین *qaznein* "Ghazna", was attracted by the beauty of a half-grown youth playing marbles (گردکان *gerdakān*) with some other boys. The poet stopped to watch them and heard that the boy after a remarkable throw

with surprising intelligence
and amazing eloquence

exclaimed:

فلتان غلتان همی رود تا بن گو

qaltā' qalatā' hamī ravad tā bon e gou

— — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —

"Rolling, rolling, doth it go to the bottom of the hole"!

The poet was impressed with the pleasing rhythm of the utterance, and after considering it in the light of the rules of prosody (بقوانین عروض مراجعت *bə qavānīn e ʿarūz morājaʿat kard*) he realized that it was a variety of the *bahr e hazaj* "shaking metre", and on the basis hereof evolved the *robāʿī* metre¹.

The above anecdote is improbable, but at the same time amusing, and the line is a good mnemonic verse for the *robāʿī* metre which is

— — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — repeated four times².

1 Cf. *al-moʿjam*, pp. 88-90.

2 Cf. §§ 156 and 152, cf. also § 141 end.

As may be guessed from the above anecdote, the traditional prosodists classify the above metre as a variety of the *bahr e hazaj*, whereby they successfully conceal the basic rhythm and necessitate an unusually complicated terminology.

The traditional analysis can be graphically represented as follows:

	first <i>rokn</i>	second <i>rokn</i>	third <i>rokn</i>	fourth <i>rokn</i>
standard <i>hazaj</i> :	◡ - - -	◡ - - -	◡	◡ - -
<i>robāʿī</i> metre:		◡ -	◡ -	
	- ◡	◡ - ◡	◡ - ◡	◡ -

We shall not go into the complicated traditional terminology. The student may, if he wishes, work it out for himself. In addition to the terms which we have already learnt he will need the following terms³: *abtar* "short tailed" denoting the change from ◡ - - - to -, and *majhūb* "emasculated" denoting the change from ◡ - - - to ◡ -. Overlong - and ◡ - are denoted by *azall* "underweight" and *ahtam* "having the front teeth broken" respectively.

§256 A very reasonable analysis of the *robāʿī* metre was suggested in 1942 by Masʿūd e Farzād⁴:

◡ - ◡ -
- - ◡ ◡ - | - ◡ ◡ - - ◡ ◡ -

Western scholars generally arrive at the following analysis⁵:

◡ - ◡ -
- - ◡ ◡ - | - ◡ ◡ - - ◡ ◡ -

ای آمده گریان تو و خندان همه کس و از آمدن تو گشته شادان همه کس
امروز چنان باش که فردا چو روی خندان تو برون روی و گریان همه کس

ei ʾāmadē ger-

yā" to wo xan-

dā" hamē kas

- - ◡ ◡ -

- ◡ ◡ -

- ◡ ◡ -

v az ʾāmadan ē

to gašte šā-

dā" hamē kas

- - ◡ ◡ -

◡ - ◡ -

- ◡ ◡ -

3 The full terminology may also be seen in *al-moʿjam* pp. 92 foll., or Elwell-Sutton, pp. 60-61. All the varieties can also be found in my Appendix One marked off by the letter R.

4 *The Metre of the Robāʿī*, Teheran 1942.

5 E.g. Friedrich Rückert: *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, Gotha 1874, pp. 65 and 387; C. Salemann and V. Shukovski: *Persische Grammatik*, Berlin 1889, §88 and G. Lazard in *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970, pp. 238 foll.

emrūz' conā"

- - ∪ ∪ -

xandā" to borū"

- - ∪ ∪ -

bāš' ke far-

- ∪ ∪ -

ravī yo ger-

∪ - ∪ -

dā co ravī

- ∪ ∪ -

yā" hamē kas

- ∪ ∪ -

"O you who have come (i.e. was born) weeping and (i.e. while) laughing everyone, and on account of whose coming all have become happy. Be so today that tomorrow when you go away, you go away laughing and (i.e. while) weeping everyone. Ouhadī (d. 1338)

§257 It is often stated that the *robā'ī* rhythm is easily assimilated. This surprises me, for personally I have found it the most difficult of all Persian rhythms to familiarise myself with, and since others may possibly have the same experience, I have added five more examples:

مجموعه کون را بقانون سبق کردیم تصفح ورقا بعد ورق
 حاکم خواندیم و ندیدیم در او جز ذات حق و صفات ذاتیه حق

majmū'ye ye kou-

- - ∪ ∪ -

kardim' tasaf-

- - ∪ ∪ -

haqqā ke nax'ā"-

- - ∪ ∪ -

joz zāt e haq ō

- - ∪ ∪ -

n⁶ rā be qā-

∪ - ∪ -

foh varaqan

- ∪ ∪ -

dīm o nadī-

- ∪ ∪ -

sefāt e zā-

∪ - ∪ -

nūn e sabaq

- ∪ ∪ -

ba'da varaq

- ∪ ∪ -

dīm' dar ū

- ∪ ∪ -

tiye ye haq

- ∪ ∪ -

"Like a lesson-book, the compendium of the Universe
 We turned over, leaf after leaf:

In truth we read and saw therein naught

Save the Essence of God, and the Essential Attributes of God"⁷.

گر روی زمین بجهه آباد کنی به زان نبود که خاطری شاد کنی
 گر بنده کنی بلطف آزادی را بهتر که هزار بنده آزاد کنی

⁶ Cf. §88.

⁷ I do not know the author of this *robā'ī*. It is quoted in E.G. Browne: *A Year amongst the Persians*, 3rd ed. 1950, p. 149. The translation is Browne's.

<i>gar rū ye zamīn</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>bē jomlē ā-</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>bād' konī</i> - ∪ ∪ -
<i>beh z ān nabovad</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>ke xāter ī</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>šād' konī</i> - ∪ ∪ -
<i>gar bandē konī</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>bē lotf' ā-</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>zād ī rā</i> - - -
<i>behtar ke hezā-</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>r' bandē ā-</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>zād' konī</i> - ∪ ∪ -

“If you make the surface of the earth flourishing, it is not better than to make one mind happy. If you enslave a free man by kindness, it is better than to set free a thousand slaves”.

طوبیچی Qāem-Maqām e Tūpcī 1856

در علم و هنر مشو چو من صاحب فن تا نزد عزیزان نشوی خوار چو من
خواهی که شوی پسند ارباب زمن گنگ آوری و گنگری کن و شکر زن

<i>dar šelm o honar</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>mašou co man</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>sāheb e fan</i> - ∪ ∪ -
<i>tā nazd e šazī-</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>zān našavī</i> - ∪ ∪ -	<i>x'ār' co man</i> - ∪ ∪ -
<i>x'āhī ke šavī</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>pasand e ar-</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>bāb e zaman</i> - ∪ ∪ -
<i>kong āvar o kon-</i> - - ∪ ∪ -	<i>gorī kon ō</i> ∪ - ∪ -	<i>kenger zan</i> - - -

“Do not become like me a possessor of skill in science and art, that you may not like me become despised by the great. (If) you want to become a favourite of the masters of the age, (then) bring a jaunty catamite, play the *kenger* (ج: a cheap two-stringed lute) and beg shamelessly like a *kongor* (ج: a type of mendicant who used to beg and extort money by very noisy and vulgar means). (I.e. Learning and art are of no avail if you want to gain the favour of the rulers of our degenerate age: instead you must serve as a pimp and a buffoon)”.
Obeid e Zākānī (d. 1371)

ای رفته بچوگان قضا همچون گو چپ می رود راست می دو و بیچ
گاکس که ترا افکند اندر تنگ و پو اوداند اوداند اوداند او

ei rafte be cou-

- - - - -

cap mīrov o rā-

- - - - -

k āⁿ kas ke torā

- - - - -

ū dānad `ū

- - - - -

gān e qazā

- - - - -

s^{1a} mīdov ō

- - - - -

aṣkanad an-

- - - - -

dānad `ū

- - - - -

hamcūⁿ gū

- - - - -

hīcⁿ magū

- - - - -

dar tag o pū

- - - - -

dānad `ū⁸

- - - - -

- 8 My reason for including this *robāʿī* among the examples is that its last *mesrāʿ* contains only long syllables. My intention was to show that this is not only theoretically possible, but also does occur in the literature (cf. Elwell-Sutton, p. 135). However the example above is not ideal for this purpose, as some editors prefer the reading

او داند و او داند و او داند و او

ū dānad o ū

- - - - -

dānad o ū

- - - - -

dānad o ū

- - - - -

Another example of a *robāʿī-mesrāʿ* containing only long syllables may be seen in the following chronogram on the accession of Ourangzīb (Classical and Indo-Persian Aurangzēb) by محمد لسان الله Mohammad Lesāno-llāh alias ملا شاه Mollā Šāh (d. ca. 1660).

حق ظاهر شد غبار باطل را رفت
طل الحق گفت الحق این را حق گفت

sobh ī del e man

- - - - -

haq zāher šod

- - - - -

ta'rix e jolū-

- - - - -

zello-lhaq gof-

- - - - -

con gol e xwpr-

- - - - -

qobār e bā-

- - - - -

s e šāh e ou-

- - - - -

t alhaq `īn

- - - - -

šīdⁿ šekoft

- - - - -

tel rā roft

- - - - -

ranqⁿ marā

- - - - -

rā haq goft

- - - - -

“One morning my heart blossomed out like the flower of the sun. Truth was revealed, swept away the dust of futility, (and) told me the chronogram of the Lord of the Throne: “Shadow of God”. Indeed, it came true (lit. by Truth 3: by God, this it said truly)”. (ظ: 900 + ل: 30 + ا: 1 + ل: 30 + ح: 8 + ق: 100 = 1069 A.H. corresponding to 1658/59 A.D. Cf. A.K.S. Lambton: *Persian Grammar*, (Cambridge 1953) pp. 259, 260 and 256).

“O you who have gone forth like a ball in (i.e. from) Fate’s polostick. Keep walking and running left and right, and do not complain (lit. say nothing)! For He who threw you into this race-and-run, He knows, He knows, He knows, He!” (ascribed to) عمر خیام Omar Xayyām

بر عشق توام نه صبر پیداست نه دل
بی روی توام نه عقل برجاست نه دل
این غم که مراست کوه قاف هست غم
این دل که تراست سنگ خار هست دل

*bar ʕešq e toam*⁹

— — — —

*bī rū ye toam*¹⁰

— — — —

īⁿ qam ke marā

— — — —

īⁿ del ke torā

— — — —

na sahr^o pei-

— — — —

na ʕaql^o bar

— — — —

s^o kūh e qā-

— — — —

s^o sang e xā-

— — — —

dā s^o na del

— — — —

jā s^o na del

— — — —

f ast^o na qam

— — — —

rā s^o na del

— — — —

“In the love of you I have neither patience nor heart; without (seeing) your face neither my reason nor heart is right. This sorrow which I have is the mountain of Qāf¹¹, not a sorrow. This heart which you have is a flint stone, not a heart”. Rūdakī (d. 940)

§258 G. Lazard¹² quotes the above *robāʿī* by Rūdakī and compares it with the well-known archaic verse (wrongly ascribed to ابو حفص سغدی *Abū Hafs e Soqdī*)

آهوی کوهی در دشت چکونه دودا
یار ندارد بی یار چکونه رودا

āhu ye kūhī

yār^o nadārad

— — — —

dar dašt^o ce gūnē davadā

*bī yār^o ce gūnē ravadā*¹³

— — — — — — — —

“How (does it happen that) the mountain deer is running in the plain? He has no companion. How does he go without a companion”?

9 -am goes syntactically with *sahr* and *del*.

10 -am goes syntactically with *ʕaql* and *del*.

11 A fabulous mountain encompassing the world.

12 Loc. cit.

13 This is the oldest version, see *al-moʕjam* p. 171.

Lazard points out that the syllabic structure of this verse and the above *robāʿī* of Rūdakī is very similar:

<i>bar ʿešq</i>	<i>e toam</i>		<i>na sahr</i>	<i>peidā st</i>	<i>na del</i>
<i>āhū</i>	<i>ye kūhī</i>		<i>dar dašt</i>	<i>ce gūne</i>	<i>ravadā</i>

He argues convincingly that the *robāʿī* metre is based upon a reinterpretation of an accentual Pahlavī metre of which the *āhū ye kūhī* is another remnant.

§259 For all the *ouzān* mentioned so far, particulars have been given concerning their frequency, but about the *robāʿī* so much has been written already, that I shall make an exception. It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader that this *vazn* is among the most common, that ʿOmar Xayyām wrote poetry in this rhythm etc.

In *ganj e soxan* the chapter on almost every poet ends with a selection of his *robāʿīāt*, indicated by the title ترانه‌ها *tarāneḥā* "quatrains".

§260 This rhythm is hardly used for anything but *robāʿīāt*, i.e. short poems consisting of two *abyāt* with the rhyme arrangement aaxa or sometimes aaaa. One does sometimes come across a single *beit*, a so-called فرد *fard* "single" following this rhythm. An instance is seen in §156 first example. Poems of more than two *abyāt* in *vazn e robāʿī* are extremely rare.

The following well-known anonymous¹⁴ poem which comprises three *abyāt* follows the *robāʿī* rhythm increased by one syllable:

هر کس که بداند و بداند که بداند	اسب خرد از گنبد گردون بجا
هر کس که نداند و بداند که نداند	لنگان خرق خویش بمنزل برساند
هر کس که نداند و نداند که نداند	در جمل مرکب ابدال هر بماند
<i>har kas ke bedā-</i>	<i>asb ē xerad az</i>
<i>har kas ke nadā-</i>	<i>langā" xarak ē</i>
<i>har kas ke nadā-</i>	
<i>nad ō¹⁵ bedā-</i>	<i>gombad e gar-</i>
<i>nad ō¹⁵ bedā-</i>	<i>x"iṣ" be man-</i>
<i>nad ō¹⁵ nadā-</i>	
<i>nad kebedānad</i>	
<i>dū" bejahānad</i>	
<i>nad ke nadānad</i>	
<i>zel beresānad</i>	
<i>nad ke nadānad</i>	

14 By some ascribed to Nasīr od-Dīn e Tūsī.

15 Though و is elsewhere always pronounced *o* (not *va*, cf. §59), some prefer to pronounce it *va* in this poem. The rhythm of the second *rokn* then becomes - و و - throughout and the *vazn* is in that case identical with the *vazn* treated in §§220-222.

dar jahl e morak-

- - ∪ ∪ -

kab ʿabad od-

∪ - ∪ -

- ∪ ∪ -

dahr^a hemānad

- ∪ ∪ - -

“Everyone who knows and knows that he knows makes the steed of intelligence leap over the vault of heaven. Everyone who does not know, but (lit. and) knows that he does not know, does make his halting little ass reach the destination. Everyone who does not know and does not know that he does not know is stuck for ever in (this) combined ignorance”.

ARABIC METRES AND SUNDRY OTHER MATTERS

§ 261 In addition to the *bohūr* "metres" described in the previous chapters, treatises on Persian prosody usually mention five more *bohūr* which properly belong to Arabic prosody, namely the two simple metres: بحر کامل *bahr e kāmēl* "the complete metre" (basic *rokn*: *motafāʿelon* ٠ ٠ - ٠ -), بحر وافر *bahr e vāfer* "the abundant metre" (basic *rokn*: *mafāʿelaton* ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ -), and the three compound metres: بحر طویل *bahr e tavīl* "the long metre" (*faʿūlon* ٠ - - alternating with *mafāʿilon* ٠ - - -), بحر مدید *bahr e madīd* "the extended metre" (*fāʿelāton* - ٠ - - alternating with *fāʿelon* - ٠ ٠ -), بحر بسیط *bahr e basīt* "the simple metre" (*mostafāʿelon* - - ٠ - alternating with *fāʿelon* - ٠ -).

§ 262 One does now and then come across a Persian poem written in one or other of the above *bohūr*, but they are extremely rare, so one example must suffice.

The following two *abyāt* by the Babi poetess قرّة العین Qorrat ol-ʿEin (d. 1852) are in *bahr e kāmēl e mosamman e sālem* "the sound eightfold complete metre".

اگر آن خوش است تو در خوری و اگر این بدست است مرا
نشاط و قهقهه شد فرو که انا الشیخ بکر بلا
متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن

to wo molk o jā- h e sekandari
agar ā" x"oš as- t" to darx"ori
man o ʿešq e ā" mah e xūb'rū
be našāt o qah- qahē šod forū
٠ ٠ - ٠ - ٠ ٠ - ٠ -

تو و ملک و جاه سکندری من و رسم و راه قلندری
من و عشق آن مه خوب رو که پوشد صلابی بلا براو
متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن

man o rasm o rā- h e qalandari
v agar ī" bad as- t" marā sežā
ke co šod salā ye balā bar ū
ke ana š-šahi- do be karbalā
٠ ٠ - ٠ - ٠ ٠ - ٠ -

"You and (i.e. you can have) the power and grandeur of Alexander! Me and (i.e. I prefer) the habit and way of the mendicants! If that be good, you are worthy, if this be bad, (still it is) all right for me. Me and (i.e. I have chosen)

the love of that fair-faced "moon", who when the call to calamity came to him, went down with joy and laughter, saying (lit. that) 'I am the martyr at Karbalā' ''.

*
* * *

§263 One of the chief characteristics of Classical Persian poetry is its extreme regularity. One may ask how it is possible for a Persian poet to write a *masnavi* of thousands and thousands of completely regular lines without becoming monotonous:

'Regularity', in the sense of each foot being exactly like the next and each line being exactly like the next, would be not a merit but a defect in poetry. ... a series of completely 'regular' lines would be, not a proof of poetic skill, but unbearably monotonous¹.

The answer, at least for Persian poetry as it is recited today², is that, whereas the prosody is based upon the regular succession of long and short syllables, the language has a strong stress accent, which has nothing to do with the verse rhythm. The stress pattern therefore changes from line to line and prevents monotony.

Classical Greek poetry shows a similar combination of a regular quantitative rhythm combined with a shifting accent pattern, probably a pitch accent and not a stress accent³. The accent of Classical Persian may have been a pitch-accent also, for languages with a phonemically relevant distinction between long and short vowels usually have pitch-accents, not stress-accents. Modern Persian is no exception to this rule, for as we have seen above (§3), the distinction of short and long vowels though observed in recitation of poetry is no longer phonemically relevant in Persian.

*
* * *

1 Marjorie Boulton: *The Anatomy of Poetry*, London 1953, p. 29 (in the 1977 reprint).

2 Attempts have been made to analyse the stress patterns of Classical Persian poets, but since we have no certain knowledge of the position of stress in the Classical age, such attempts are futile.

3 The sound of Homer's songs when recited with due regard to both quantity and accent is wonderful. Most scholars, however, while reading Homer, disregard the accent completely and substitute stressed for long and unstressed for short syllables producing very unpoetic results.

§264 Except for *masnaviāt* all the poems of a Persian poet are usually collected into what is called a *divān*⁴. The *divān* is usually subdivided into sections, each section comprising poems written in one genre: *qasā'ed*, *qazaliāt* etc. Within each section the poems are arranged alphabetically according to the last letter of the rhyme.

This arrangement is in one respect very convenient, for if we remember or hear a single line by some poet and want to know the rest of the poem we can easily find it. Similarly, if we want to check whether a line of a poem of unknown authorship is by such and such a poet, it is easily done.

§265 In the case of a large *divān* which may have scores or even hundreds of poems ending with the same letter, it may be laborious to search out a line. However, the poems ending with the same letter are usually arranged according to some system. In many cases the alphabetical order is complete, that is poems with the same end letter are arranged according to their penultimate letter, poems in which the rhyming element consists of only one letter coming before the rest. Poems with common penultimate letters are then arranged according to the third last letter etc.

This is the way in which the poems of Saʿdī are arranged in the edition quoted in §175 and *passim*.

§266 Slightly less satisfactory is the system followed e.g. in Dr. Tafazzolī's edition of *divān e ʿAttār*, Teheran 1967, where the poems are arranged in the same alphabetical order, but without considering the rhyming element, the place of each poem in the *divān* being determined exclusively by the final letters of the second *mesrāʿ*.

§267 In many cases the arrangement of poems in a *divān* takes into consideration only the last letter of the rhyming element. This means that poems ending f.ex. in *nūn* are grouped together in one group, and poems ending in *vāv* are grouped together in another group etc., but within these groups there is no further alphabetical arrangement of the poems which may number hundreds—in Moulavī's *divān* there are 145 poems ending in *vāv* and 345 poems ending in *nūn*.

However, there is usually some system of arrangement, and if one has to work with a voluminous *divān* one is well-advised to work out the system for oneself. The system employed in Dr. Forūzānfar's edition of Moulavī's *divān* (*divān e kabīr* or *kolliāt e šams*) is as follows:

4 A few poets like Amīr Xosrov e Dehlavī have more than one *divān*.

Firstly—as in any other *divān*—the poems are arranged alphabetically in large groups according to the last letter of the rhyming element.

Each of these groups is then subdivided into three groups, the first containing Persian poems, the second bilingual poems, *molammaʕāt*, and the third Arabic poems.

Each of these groups is then subdivided on a rhythmical basis so that all poems belonging to one and the same *bahr* are grouped together. The order of the *bohūr* is everywhere the same, namely:

<i>bahr e rajaz</i>	<i>bahr e madīd</i>
<i>bahr e hazaj</i>	<i>bahr e kāmēl</i>
<i>bahr e ramal</i>	<i>bahr e basīt</i>
<i>bahr e tavīl</i> ⁵	<i>bahr e motaqāreb</i>
<i>bahr e vāfer</i> ⁶	<i>bahr e motadārek</i>
<i>bahr e mozāreʕ</i>	<i>bahr e xafīf</i>
<i>bahr e monsareh</i>	<i>bahr e sarīʕ</i>
<i>bahr e mojtass</i>	syllabic poems ⁷

Within these groups the poems are arranged according to their *ouzān*, poems having the same *vazn* coming together in one group. The *ouzān* are arranged according to the number of syllables, longer rhythms preceding shorter rhythms, and when two rhythms have the same number of syllables, the *sālem* “sound” one precedes the “derived” one, e.g. in *bahr e rajaz* — — ∪ — precedes — ∪ ∪ — which in turn precedes ∪ — ∪ —.

These groups are not further subdivided, but the individual poems of the group tend to be arranged according to their regularity: the more freely the poet has availed himself of the permitted variations, the further the poem is relegated towards the end of the group, and poems containing a regular transgression against the rules, a so-called *سقطه seqṭe* “stumbling” come at the very end of the group.

In order to make the system quite clear I have shown it in tabular form in Appendix Three.

5 The position of *bahr e tavīl* is not quite fixed, cf. Appendix Three.

6 There is only one occurrence of this *bahr* in *kolliāt e šams*.

7 Found only in one Greek *molammaʕ*.

PART THREE

ADAPTATION INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

“Poetry was one and indivisible, the language in which it was written merely an unimportant accident”.

Elias John Wilkinson Gibb

THE ADAPTATION OF CLASSICAL PERSIAN PROSODY TO URDU

§268 With the gradual stagnation of the Indo-Persian literary tradition during the later Mughal period, Urdu¹, a Persianized dialect of Western Hindi, became the principal literary medium of the Indian Moslems as well as of the Persianized Hindus of Northern India. Urdu literature is a direct continuation of Indo-Persian literature. In form and content its standards and ideals are those of Persian. Urdu literature is therefore Iranian rather than Indian, but inevitably influenced by its Indian environment. Urdu poetry is Persian poetry with a difference. The Persian scholar who takes up the study of Classical Urdu poetry will find that a new dimension is added to his literary experience.

Urdu poetry has repeatedly been condemned as a servile imitation of its Persian models, mere “verbal ingenuity and prosodic dexterity” (J.C. Ghosh) without the “faintest flavour of originality” (Sir Charles Lyall). However, these scathing judgments have mostly been passed by indologists who were prevented by their insufficient knowledge of the Persian tradition from appreciating the achievement of the Urdu poets.

§269 Urdu prosody is based on Persian prosody with only such changes as are required by the different phonetic structure of the two languages. A complete description of Urdu prosody on the lines of the description of Persian prosody given in Part One and Part Two is therefore unnecessary.

¹ اردو *urdū* is derived from Turkish *ordu* “camp, army” (whence also English *horde*), and is generally explained as originally indicating the mixture of Persian and Hindi spoken in the army, the “camp-language” as opposed to the refined Persian language of the Mughal court. This explanation is far off the mark. The language now termed *urdū* was originally called ہندی *hindī* “Indian” as opposed to *fārsī* “Persian”. The word *urdū* is an abbreviation of زبان اردوئے معلیٰ *zabān e urdū ‘e mu‘allā* “the language of The Exalted Camp (i.e. of The Imperial Court)”. “The King’s Urdu” would be a better translation than “camp-language”.

This chapter describes only the *differences* between the Persian and the Urdu systems. However, read in conjunction with Part One and Part Two above, this chapter still furnishes a complete description of Classical Urdu prosody.

In order to facilitate reference the chapter follows as closely as possible the order of the exposition of Classical Persian prosody. It could be objected that this method makes the work inaccessible to those Urdu students who do not know Persian. However, since no serious study of Urdu poetry is possible without an adequate knowledge of Persian, such students should be advised to take up the study of Persian and the sooner the better.

[Ad Chapter I]

§270 The adaptation of Classical Persian prosody to Urdu was greatly facilitated by the almost identical vowel systems of the two languages. Like Classical Persian, Urdu has three short vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, five long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō*, and two diphthongs *ai* and *au*. (In word final position *ī* and *ē* are distinguished in the Urdu script: لڑکی *larkī* “girl”, لڑکے *larkē* “boys”.) All the Urdu vowels also occur nasalized.

In §86 above we saw that long nasalized vowels probably existed in Classical Persian as well. The nasalized Persian vowels, however, must be phonemically analysed as long vowels + /n/, whereas the nasalized Urdu vowels are phonemically distinct entities.

§271 Unlike Persian, the Classical Urdu vowel system continues practically unchanged to the present day.

In Modern Urdu *a* and *ā* are pronounced [ə] (or [ʌ]) and [a:] respectively. Thus, in addition to the distinction of quantity there is a distinction of quality. *ai* and *au* are pronounced [əɪ] and [əʊ] and by some speakers [ɛ:] and [ɔ:]. This, however, does not affect the vowel system as such. Moreover it cannot be proved that these pronunciations are not as old as the oldest Urdu poems.

§272 Modern Urdu also possesses three short vowels of ambivalent phonemic status: *e*, *o*, *æ*.

At first these vowels appear to be allophones of *i*, *u*, and *a* respectively. *i* and *u* become *e* and *o* before ʕ + consonant, *i*, *u*, and *a* become *e*,

o, and *æ* before *h* + consonant. Thus مهر *[muhr]* “seal” is realized as *mohr* (or *muhar*²), and مہر *[mihṛ]* “kindness” is realized as *mehr* (or *mihar*² or *mihir*²). نہر *[nahr]* “canal” is realized as *næhr* or in the spoken language more commonly *nahar* [nəhər]², whereas نہرو *[nahrū]* “living by the canal (adj.)”, “Nehru (proper name)” is always *næhrū*. شعلہ *[ʃuʕlā]* “flame” becomes *ʃoʕlā*³, and فعل *[fiʕl]* “action” becomes *feʕl*³.

However, in popular speech, *o* is often fused with *ō*, and *e* and *æ* are fused with *ē*. Thus *[muhr]*, *[mihṛ]* and *[nahrū]* eventually become *mōhar*, *mēhar* and *nēhrū*⁴.

The anaptyctic *a* becomes *e* (not *æ*) before *h*. Cf. §283.

§273 The Urdu consonant system is radically different from the Persian. All the Persian consonant phonemes do occur in Urdu too, though some of them occur only in loanwords and have a weak phonemic status.

The “loan phonemes” are *q*, *x*, *ġ* (غ), *z*, and *f*⁵. Many speakers either confuse *q*, *x* and *ġ* with *k*, *kʰ* and *g* respectively or substitute *k*, *kʰ* and *g* throughout. *z*, too, is often confused with *j* and in vulgar speech *j* is substituted for *z* throughout. *f* and *ph* are confused, too, but here the tendency is to substitute the foreign *f* for the native *ph*.

For each Persian stop consonant (except *q*) there are two in Urdu, one unaspirated and one aspirated: *k*, *kʰ*, *g*, *gʰ*, *p*, *pʰ*, *b*, *bʰ*, etc.

In addition to the dental stops *t*, *tʰ*, *d*, *dʰ*, there is a series of retroflex⁶ stops *ɭ*, *ɭʰ*, *ɖ*, *ɖʰ*. Medially and finally *ɖ* and *ɖʰ* are flapped *ɽ* and *ɽʰ*.

§274 In the script the aspiration ^h is indicated with the “two-eyed *hē*” دو چشمی *du cašmī hē*, thus تھ *tʰ*, دھ *dʰ*, چھ *cʰ*, جھ *jʰ*, etc. *h* as a

2 With an anaptyctic vowel, see §§282-283.

3 In popular speech ʕ disappears with compensatory lengthening: [fo:la:], [fe:l], similarly [ma:lu:m] for معلوم *maʕlūm* “known”. Occasionally *hamza* too undergoes a similar development: مؤمن *[muʕmini]* [mo:min] “faithful, believer”.

4 But never *nēhar* for *[nahr]*. In other words, the development *a* > *æ* > *ē* does not occur before an anaptyctic vowel.

5 To these may be added the extremely rare *ž*, by practically all speakers confused with *j* or *z*.

6 Pronounced with the tongue “curled back, slightly, almost as when you try to prevent an elusive pill from rolling off the tip of your tongue” (Bailey, Firth and Harley: *Teach Yourself Urdu*, London 1956, p. XVII. As a self instructor in Urdu this book is not a success, but its introduction to the *pronunciation* of Urdu is admirable).

separate consonant is written with the “pendant *hē*” لٹکن والی ہے *laṭkanvālī hē*, for example پہل *pahal* “side”, but پھل *pʰal* “fruit”. کہ *kah* “speak”, کہ *ki* “that” کہ *kʰ* e.g. لاکھ *lākʰ* “100,000”.

Retroflex consonants are indicated with a diacritical mark ٹ : ط, ڈ, ڍ, ڙ, ڻ, ڱ, etc.

[Ad Chapter II]

§275 Transcription of the Urdu vowels:

ا...	= a	the same metrically lengthened: a:				
آ...	= æ (see §272)					
آ...	= i (see §276)					
آ...	= u (see §276)					
آ...	= i	»	»	»	»	» i:
آ...	= e (see §272)					
آ...	= u	»	»	»	»	» u:
آ...	= o (see §272)					
آ...	= ā	»	»	»	»	shortened: ā
آ...	= ī	»	»	»	»	» ī
آ...	= ē	»	»	»	»	» ē
آ...	= ū	»	»	»	»	» ū
آ...	= ō	»	»	»	»	» ō
آ...	= ai	»	»	»	»	» āi
آ...	= au	»	»	»	»	» āu

Nasalization is rendered by ~. E.g. ā̃, ā̃̃, ā̃̃̃. For vowels followed by ^h, see §§ 307-310.

It will be noticed that ~ denotes metrically shortened long vowels, whereas originally short vowels are unmarked. The sign : denotes metrically lengthened short vowels. Originally long vowels are indicated by -. We have to distinguish between e.g. *i*, *ī*, *ī* and *i:*.

§276 We often find Urdu *i* corresponding to Persian and Arabic *a*. E.g. کشتی *kišti* “boat” from Persian *kašti*, وداع *vidāʿ* “farewell” from Arabic *wadāʿ*. This pronunciation was probably taken over with the words from East or South Persian dialects⁷.

⁷ See f.ex. L.N. Kiseleva and V.I. Mikolayčik: *Dari-Russkiy Slovar'*, Moskva 1978, s.u. *kešti*.

kišti and *vidāʿ* are considered standard forms in Urdu, but in many other words the forms with *i* are considered substandard, as f.ex. *nimak* for نمک *namak* “salt”. It is therefore often difficult to decide whether to transcribe *i* or *a*. Wherever *i* has been decided upon, it is marked off with a diacritical point: *kīšti*, *vidāʿ*.

Occasionally the Arabic prefix *ma-* has become *mu-* in Urdu, probably influenced by the greater number of loanwords with the prefix *mu-*. Here also the diacritical point is used. Thus محبت *muḥabbat* “love” from Arabic *mahabbat*, and محله *muḥallā* “quarter of a town” from Arabic *mahallat*.

§277 The transcription of the consonants call for few remarks: Consonants which are not counted in the scansion are indicated by raised letters. Similarly, the aspirated stops are rendered by *kʰ*, *gʰ* etc., and not—as is normally done—by *kh*, *gh* etc. Classical Persian *x* has been allowed to stand, but the various Arabic *s*’s and *z*’s etc. are not distinguished (cf. §21).

Apart from this I have followed the system used in D.J. Matthews and C. Shackle: *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, London O.U.P., 1972. Accordingly the retroflex letters are marked with a diacritical point: *ṭ*, *ṭʰ*, *ḍ*, *ḍʰ*, *ṛ*, *ṛʰ*, and *ḡ* (غ) is distinguished from *q* (ق). For the rest this system of transcription is identical with that for Persian employed above.

[Ad Chapter III]

§278 As in Classical Persian the contrast of long and short vowels is a major factor in producing poetic rhythm. Many lines can be scanned following the rules of Classical Persian prosody alone (with the important, but self-evident reservation that *kʰ*, *gʰ* etc. must be reckoned as single consonants, as phonetically indeed they are):

یاد کرنا ہر گھڑی اس یار کا ہے وظیفہ مجھ دل بیمار کا
آرزوئے چشمہ کوثر نہیں تشنہ لب ہوں شربت دیدار کا

wedâ’ etc. Cf. also کرمان *kermân*, “name of a town in Southern Iran”, from Old Persian *karmāna*- (See R.G. Kent: *Old Persian*, p. 180, and cf. E.G. Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 145).

yād' karnā
hai vazīfā
ār'zū e:
tišnalab hū

— ∪ — —

har g'harī us
muj^h dil e: bī-
cašmā e: kau-
šarbat e: dī-

— ∪ — —

yār' kā
mār' kā
sar nahī
dār' kā

— ∪ —

“To long every instant for that friend is the duty of heartsick me. (I have) no desire for the fountain of *Kausar* (∅: name of a river in Paradise). I am thirsting after a draught of (my beloved's) face⁸.”
ولی Vali
(Rhythm in §§201-203).

[Ad Chapter IV]

§279 As in Classical Persian the second major factor in producing poetic rhythm is the contrast of open and closed syllables. However, whereas in Persian a syllable always begins with a single consonant, in Urdu a syllable may begin with two consonants.

§280 These consonant clusters are generally word-initial, and the second element is most often *y*. Both elements of the clusters are distinctly pronounced, but prosodically always count as a single consonant, and we therefore transcribe *k^y*, *g^y*, *d^{hy}* etc.

In the Urdu script such consonant clusters cannot be distinguished, even in vowelised texts, as the veneration for the Arab orthography prevents marking off the first consonant as vowelless⁹. Only context and metre can decide whether to interpret کیا as *kiyā* “done, did” or as *k^yā* “what?”.

حسن بے پروا کو خود بین و خود آرا کر دیا کیا کیا میں نے کہ اظہار تمنا کر دیا

husn e bēpar-
k^yā kiyā māī

— ∪ — —

vā kō x^uudbī-
nē ki izhā-

— ∪ — —

n o: x^uudārā
r e: tamannā

— ∪ — —

kar diyā
kar diyā

— ∪ —

“The unselfconscious beauty I have made selfconscious and conceited. What have I done that I expressed (my) desire!”
حسرت Hasrat.

8 *dīdār* also means “seeing” and hence “meeting” which is the ordinary sense, and we might therefore interpret the last line as “I am thirsting to see my beloved”, but “face” goes better with *tišnalab* “having a thirsty lip”.

9 Cf. Šams e Qeis’ verdict on initial consonant clusters in §107 above.

Here it is the metre rather than the context which leads us to *k'ā kiyā*. With a different metre we would have had to read *kiyā k'ā*. (Rhythm in §§ 199-200).

§281 Urdu is a hybrid language created by the addition of a large Persian¹⁰ element to a Western Hindi dialect, which itself contained a considerable admixture of Sanskrit loanwords.

The syllable structures admitted in the three constituent elements of Urdu are quite different from one another, but the Persian and the Sanskrit elements are to a large extent adapted to the syllabic structure of Urdu¹¹.

§282 In word-final position Urdu allows only single consonants or clusters with a nasal as their first element; medially two consonants are allowed¹²; initially only single consonants or clusters with *y* as their second element are allowed¹³.

Urdu ordinarily does not allow two short syllables together. In a second short syllable *a* is always reduced. In the same position *i* and *u* are less regularly reduced.

Thus the perfect of پکڑنا *pakarṇā* (◡ – –) “to catch” is پکڑا *pakṛā* (– –), not *pakarā* (◡ ◡ –). بہن *bahin* (◡ –) “sister” (< Sanskrit *bhagini*) forms the plurals بہنیں *bahinē* (◡ ◡ –) and *bæhnē*¹⁴ (– –) whence by analogy the new singulars *bahan* and (substandard) *bæhn*¹⁵.

§283 Like Urdu Sanskrit does not allow final consonant clusters, but initially triple and medially even quintuple consonant clusters occur. Moreover in Sanskrit loanwords short final vowels disappear creating new final consonant clusters. Final consonant clusters are common in Persian, too.

10 This Persian element again contains a large element of Arabic. In other words, the Arabic element in Urdu has come via Persian.

11 In the following description “Urdu” indicates that dialect of Western Hindi which forms the basic element of Urdu.

12 Medially two juxtaposed consonants need not always be regarded as a cluster. See below §288-291.

13 The very rare initial *nh* and *mh* are really aspirated nasals. See the example in §321.

14 For *æ* see §272.

15 The reduced *a* is treated at length in §§288-291. [*bæhn* should perhaps be explained rather as the result of a development *bahin* > *baihn* > *bæhn*. Cf. §§307-310 and 271.]

Thus Sanskrit *b^hrama-* becomes first *b^hram* and then *b^haram* بهرم “mistake”. Sanskrit *d^harma-* becomes first *d^harm* and then *d^haram* دهرم “virtue, duty”. Persian گرم *garm* “warm” becomes *garam*. See also the examples in §272.

Before *h* + consonant the anaptyctic *a* becomes *e*, which may in turn be identified with *ē*. فتح پور *fathpūr* “name of a town” thus becomes *fatehpūr* or *fatēhpūr*¹⁶.

On the other hand Persian and Sanskrit short vowels are reduced to prevent two short syllables from following one another. Persian (Arabic) برکت *barakat* “blessing” (ـ ـ -) becomes *barkat* (- -).

§284 In poetry, however the poets take the utmost care to employ the “correct” forms. Since the Urdu poets were also Persian scholars, but unacquainted with Sanskrit, this means that Persian loanwords in poetry revert to their original form, whereas Sanskrit loanwords are used in their popular form.

بھرم کھل جائے ظالم تیرے قامت کی دازی کا اگر اس طرہ پڑے پیچ و خم کا پیچ و خم نیکلے

<i>b^haram k^hul jā-</i>	<i>ē zālim tē-</i>	<i>rē qāmat kī</i>	<i>darāzī kā</i>
<i>agar `us tur-</i>	<i>rā e: pur pē-</i>	<i>c o xam kā pē-</i>	<i>c o xam niklē</i>
و - - - -	و - - - -	و - - - -	و - - - -

“O tyrant, the mistake about the tallness of your figure will be rectified if the curls and twists of your hair full of curls and twists are straightened out (for then your beautiful tall figure will appear short in comparison with your long hair)”. غالب *Ġālib*

(Rhythm in §§223-225).

مجھ دل کے کبوتر کوں پکڑا ہے تیری لٹنے یہ کام دھرم کا ہے مک اسکو تھپڑاتی جا

<i>muj^h dil kē kabūtar kāu</i>	<i>pakrā hāi terī laṭ nē</i>
<i>yē kām^h d^haram kā hai</i>	<i>ṭuk `us kō c^hurāti jā</i>
- - - - -	- - - - -

“Your locks have caught the dove of my heart. Is this an act of virtue? Just release it”. Vali

(Rhythm in §§223-225).

16 For *-pūr* see §318, footnote 47.

The discrepancy between the pronunciation of Persian (and Arabic) loanwords in the spoken language and in the poetic diction is often surprising. Thus *صبح* *subah* (˘ –) “morning” and *شمع* *šama*˘ [ʃama:] (˘ –) “candle” of the spoken language revert to *subh* (– ˘ *subh*˘) and *šam*˘ (– ˘ *šam*˘˘) in poetry, as in the following verse in which *عیش* *ʿAiš* bravely faces the hardships and infirmities of old age:

اے شمع صبح ہوتی ہے روتی ہے کس لئے تھوڑی سی روگٹی ہے اسے بھی گزاریں

ai šam˘˘

subh˘ *hōtī*

hāi rōtī hāi

kis liē

tʰōrī sī

rah gāi hāi

usē bʰi gu-

zār˘ *dē*

– – ˘

– ˘ – ˘

˘ – – ˘

– ˘ –

“O candle, the morning is coming, why art thou weeping? Only a little is left. Let us get through with that also”.

(Rhythm in §§237-238.)

[Ad Chapter V]

§285 The rules governing the scansion of long and overlong syllables are identical in Persian and Urdu with just one exception: The word *اور* *aur* (and its dialect variant *بور* *haur*) “and, more” may be scanned both *aur*˘ (*haur*˘) – ˘ and *āur* (*hāur*) –. The latter is more common.

جلے ہے شمع سے پروانہ اور میں تجھ سے کہیں ہے مہر بھی جگ میں کہیں نہا بھی ہے

jalē hāi šam-

˘˘ sē parvā-

nā aur˘ *māi*

tuj˘ *sē*

kahī hāi meh-

r˘ *bhī jag mē*

kahī vafā

bhī hai

˘ – ˘ –

˘ ˘ – –

˘ – ˘ –

– –

“The moth is being burnt by the candle and I by you. Does love at all exist in the world or does affection¹⁷ exist at all”?

سودا Saudā

(Rhythm in §§228-229.)

17 In Arabic and in Persian *vafā* means “fidelity”, and “fidelity” is the meaning given in the Urdu dictionaries. However, in Urdu the word has come to be used merely as a synonym for “love” and “affection”, and if *vafā* at all has the sense of fidelity in Urdu, it is

بیاض کی نزاکت اور لطافت کا لکھوتا کے
سراپا کشور خوبی میں ناز و ادا دستا

<i>bayā us ki</i>	<i>nazākat `āur</i>	<i>latāfat kā</i>	<i>lik`hū tā kai</i>
<i>sarāpā kiš-</i>	<i>var e: xūbi</i>	<i>manē nāz o:</i>	<i>adā distā</i>
υ---	υ---	υ---	υ---

“How long shall I (continue to) write about her grace and delicacy? (I could go on for ever for) in the Realm of Beauty charm and attraction is revealed everywhere (lit. from head to foot)”. Valī

(Rhythm in §§191-193.)

نبی صدقے قطبا کوں جم عیش ہے
مدد میں اسے آٹھ پور چار امام

<i>nabī sad-</i>	<i>qē qutbā</i>	<i>kāu jam ʕai-</i>	<i>š^o hai</i>
<i>madad hāi</i>	<i>usē ā-</i>	<i>t^{ha} hāur cā-</i>	<i>r imām</i>
υ---	υ---	υ---	υ---

“For Qutb, the sacrifice of the prophet¹⁸, life is all happiness. The eight and four imams are his succour”. Muhammad-Qulī Qutbšāh (Rhythm in §§178-183.)

§286 In §37 it was mentioned that in traditional Indian recitation of Persian poetry, the ^o of the overlong syllable is realized as an indistinct vowel. In the recitation of Urdu poetry usage varies. Some do not

at least only used about fidelity in love. In the following verse by Valī “The Father of Urdu Poetry” the translation “fidelity” would make no sense:

یاد آتا ہے مجھے جب وہ گل باغ وفا
اشک کرتے ہیں مکاں گوشہ داماں میرا

<i>yād^a `ātā</i>	<i>hāi mujhē jah</i>	<i>vō gul e: bā-</i>	<i>ḡ e vafā</i>
<i>ašk^a kartē</i>	<i>hāi makā gō-</i>	<i>šā e dāmā-</i>	<i>n^a mē ā</i>
υ---	υ---	υ---	υ---

“When I remember that flower of the garden of love, tears come and take up their abode in the corner of my skirt (after drenching the whole upper garment)”. (Rhythm in §§211-212.)

18 I.e. “the Prophets devoted servant”. This is merely a paraphrase of the poet’s name, Muhammad-Qulī, which means “Muhammad’s slave” (from Turkish *kul* “slave”).

pronounce ʾ, others do, especially if it follows a consonant cluster. If the second member of the consonant cluster is ʁ, the ʾ is always pronounced. This agrees with the genius of the language, where a reduced vowel, a “minimally realized *a*” is often heard after consonant clusters¹⁹.

[*Ad Chapter VI*]

§287 The rules for hiatus or *hamza* (*hamẓe*) are the same in Urdu and Persian prosody.

However, whereas in Persian relative scarcity of *hamza* is one of the factors that go to make a poem *ravān* “fluent” (§50), in Urdu this is definitely not the case. On the contrary here liaison is much less common than *hamza*.

§288 The reasons for this must be sought in the speech-habits of Urdu and Hindi speakers.

In the Hindi script final²⁰ consonants are written as if followed by a short *a*, the so-called “inherent *a*”. As to when and how this “inherent *a*” should be pronounced, the grammarians of Hindi²¹ are very vague.

According to McGregor “the consonant characters have come to have not only syllabic, but also purely consonantal values”. This is because “*a* has become or *tended* to become mute finally, ...” His “transliteration indicates whether a given ‘inherent’ *a* in a script form represents a *normally* pronounced vowel or not ...” With regard to forms like *pakṛā* (§282 above) he says that the inherent *a* between *k* and *r* “is not pronounced ... or is only minimally pronounced”²².

In other words, McGregor, perhaps the most competent grammarian of modern Hindi, does not want to commit himself on its pronunciation. Scholberg gets around the problem by stating that اِک *ēk* “one” “really contains two syllables”²³, (*ē-k*). In his rather unscientific, but nevertheless

19 Cf. R.S. McGregor: *Outline of Hindī Grammar*, p. xxvii, London O.U.P. 1972.

20 Final in word or syllable.

21 Grammarians of Urdu have not paid any attention to this problem, which the conveniently ambiguous Arabic script has camouflaged, as it were.

22 McGregor, op. cit. p. xxiv (italics mine).

23 Scholberg: *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language*, §13, London O.U.P., 1940.

very useful *Hindi Grammar*²⁴, Edwin Greaves appears to me to be closest to the truth. According to him “*a* is understood (and sounded) in all cases where a consonant bears no other vowel ... In many cases, the *a*-sound is very slight, but, with care, can be distinguished”.

§289 I would tentatively describe and explain the occurrence in Hindi and Urdu of the reduced *a*—so I prefer to call it—as follows:

All consonants that are neither followed by any other vowel nor are themselves the first member of a consonant cluster²⁵—in native words restricted to doubled consonants and clusters having nasals as their first or *y* as their second element—are followed by a phoneme /*a*/, which behaves very much like the French *e muet*; i.e. it is realized only to the extent necessary in order to produce the neighbouring phonemes. Thus it is fully pronounced after an initial consonant (or consonant cluster), before a consonant cluster, and before a consonant followed by reduced *a*. In all other cases—most conspicuously in word final position—the *a* is reduced. When several /*a*/’s follow one another, then—as with the French *e muet*²⁶—every second /*a*/ is reduced: /*baragada*/ *bargad* “banyan tree”, in Hindi written बरगद <*baragada*>, and in Urdu برگد <*brgd*> (rarely بَرگَد <*bargad*>). If a word consists of three consonants each followed by /*a*/, then according to the above rules the first /*a*/ (following an initial consonant) and the second /*a*/ (coming before a reduced /*a*/) are fully pronounced: کپٹ /*kapaṭa*/ *kapaṭ* “fraud”, but if three such syllables are followed by a consonant and a long vowel, then the derivation of the word decides whether the second or the third /*a*/ should be reduced: بدلوانا /*badalavānā*/ *badalvānā* “to cause to change”, from بدل *badal* “change”, but ہتھکڑی /*hatʰakarī*/ *hatʰkarī* “handcuff” from ہاتھ *hātʰ* “hand” and کڑی *karī* “link”.

24 Pp. 27-28, Allahabad 1921.

25 In the Hindi script consonant clusters can be distinguished from merely juxtaposed consonants—consonants with intervening reduced /*a*/—by being written as compound letters, thus अन्त (or अंत) <*anta*> /*anta*/ *ant* “end”, but बनता <*banatā*> /*banatā*/ *bantā* “becomes”. In the Urdu script only doubled consonants can be similarly distinguished: کتا <*kt*> /*kuttā*/ *kuttā* “dog”, but کتا <*kʰtt*> /*kātātā*/ *kāttā* “spins”. The phonemic relevance of the reduced /*a*/ in *kāttā* is borne out by the fact that in *kāttā* each *t* is pronounced with one implosion and one explosion, whereas in *kuttā* we find *tt* pronounced with an implosion, a pause, and an explosion.

26 Cf. French *je ne me le rappelle pas* [ʒənmələrapelpa].

§290 The extent to which /a/ is reduced depends upon the speakers personal speech habits (his dialect background), upon the speed and style of speech—the vowels being less reduced in slow and dignified speech—and also upon the phonetic environment of the reduced /a/.

The Urdu and Hindi unaspirated stop consonants are not like “unaspirated” stop consonants in many languages (e.g. Persian) slightly aspirated, but they are, as in French²⁷, *completely* unaspirated. Unless followed by a vowel such consonants are practically inaudible. They are therefore in Urdu and Hindi followed by just enough of an ə-sound to make the consonant audible, i.e. they are followed by a reduced /a/. In final position the reduced /a/ is “very slight, but, with care, can be distinguished”. After voiced aspirated consonants the reduced /a/ is slightly more distinct, this time not to make the consonant audible, but to make it pronouncable. Medially the reduced /a/ is still very slight, but now easily discernible, especially if it has been reduced as result of the addition of an inflexional ending, e.g. *pakʳā* “caught” from *pakaṛnā* “to catch” (cf. §282).

In order to facilitate the pronunciation, /a/ following cumbersome consonant clusters (occurring only in loanwords) is only slightly reduced and may even be fully sounded, but in ordinary speech the clusters are more often broken up into single consonants, thus *dʰarm* or *dharam* “virtue, duty”, *garm* or *garam* “warm” (cf. §283).

§291 The existence of the reduced /a/ probably has a restraining effect upon *liaison* between words and is the reason that *hamza* is more common in Urdu poetry than *hamze* in Persian poetry. At the same time this quality of Urdu poetry seems to prove the correctness of the above description of reduced /a/ in Urdu and Hindi.

In this work the reduced /a/ is not shown in the transcription (unless it occurs in an overlong syllable, of course, in which case it is transcribed ʳ).

27 Is it possibly the presence in both languages of completely unaspirated consonants that account for the similar behaviour of *e muet* and reduced /a/? (In French too the stop consonants are inaudible unless followed by a vowel. Cf. *petit* [pəti], *petite* [pətitʰ].) Or does the reduced /a/ reflect a Dravidian substratum? In Proto-Dravidian “a non-morphemic (so-called enunciative) -/u follows all stops in final position. The phonetic value of this final -/u seems to have been a sort of vowel-like release of the final plosive”. Kamil Zvelebil: *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, p. 35, The Hague 1970.

[Ad Chapter VII]

§292 The rules for scanning *vāv e ʕatf* and *izāfā* (Persian *ezāfe*) are the same as in Persian. Surprisingly enough they are pronounced *o* (or *o:*) and *e* (or *e:*) as in Modern Persian, not *u* (*u:*) and *i* (*i:*) as in Classical Persian.

Note that unlike Persian there is no *y*- or *w*-glide after vowels. In such cases they are written with *hamza*, *أ* and *و*. See the examples in §§278 (second verse), 313 (first verse).

Even though they occur only in Persian constructions, they are encountered very frequently.

[Ad Chapter VIII]

§293 In native words the only short final vowel to occur is /a/ which is always reduced, except in the monosyllables *نا* *na* “no, not”, *چھ* *c^ha* “six” (also and more commonly pronounced *c^he*), and *پا* *pa* “on, but”. Reduced vowels are not reckoned in the Urdu prosody (except of course in overlong syllables). *na*, *c^ha* and *pa* are always short, but all three have prosodically long doublets *نَا* *nā*, *چَھ* *c^heh* or *چَہ* *c^hē*, *پا* *par*.

§294 In Sanskrit loanwords final short *i*, *u* and *a* are always reduced. By educated Hindi speakers *मति* <*mati*> “meaning” is pronounced differently from *मत* <*mata*> “religion”: *matⁱ* and *mat^a* respectively. In Urdu the two are spelled and pronounced alike *مت* *mat*.

§295 The final vowel of Persian loanwords ending in *-e* (Classical Persian *-a*) has in Urdu been identified with *-ā* in native words (e.g. *بچہ* *baccā* “child” which is declined exactly like the native word *لڑکا* *laṛkā* “boy”) and will therefore be treated together with other words ending in long vowels²⁸ (§§298-310).

Persian *na* “no, not” is not distinguished from native *na* with which it is identical in form, meaning and origin. In *ورنہ* *varna* “else” the final *a* may as in Persian be scanned long or short as the metre requires. In the spoken

28 Some grammarians and lexicographers distinguish between original Persian *-a* and indigenous *-ā*, thus Bailey who writes *baccā*, but *laṛka*. But there is not—and judging from the prosody never was—any corresponding distinction in pronunciation. In the Urdu script the spellings with *hē* for original Persian *-a* and *alif* for indigenous *-ā* are often confused.

language it is generally pronounced *varnā*, but also *varna*²⁹, and I have even heard *varan* [vərən], but not *varn*^a. In Hindi it is spelled **वरना** <*varanā*> or **वरन** <*varana*>.

In *ki*²⁹ “that”, *tāki* “so that”, *agarci* “even though”, **حالانکہ** *hālāki* “whereas”, etc., *i* is generally scanned short, but may also as in Persian be scanned long. With some speakers *ki* “that” and **کی** *kī* “of (f.)” form a minimal pair, *ki* being pronounced with a hypershort, (but not reduced) *i*. Others—probably the majority—do not distinguish in pronunciation between *ki* and *kī*.

[Ad Chapter IX]

§296 In Urdu there is a phonemically relevant distinction between nasalized long vowels and long vowels followed by *n*: **مان** *mā* means “mother”, **مان** *mān* means “honour”, *mā* is long, *mān* is overlong. In Persian there is no such distinction. Persian (and Arabic) loanwords with *n* following a long vowel are therefore allowed a double interpretation **مانده** *mādā* “tired” may be scanned *mādā* (— —) as well as *mān’dā* (— ˘ —), **آسمان پر** *āsmān par* “on the sky” may be scanned *ās’mā par* (— ˘ — —) as well as *ās’mān’ par* (— ˘ — ˘ —). In Persian the latter alternative is extremely rare, but in Urdu quite common. In word final position *n* is distinguished from nasalization in the script, the dot of ˘ being omitted when ˘ indicates nasalization:

کردن کج حبیب پر کفن کے قاتلوں کو گمان نہ ہو
 زخموں عشق کا بانپن پس مرگ ہم نے بھلا دیا

<i>karō kaj jabī</i>	<i>pa sar e: kafan</i>	<i>merē qātilō</i>	<i>kō gumā na hō</i>
<i>kī ġurūr e ʕiš-</i>	<i>q’ kā bāk’pan</i>	<i>pas e marg’ ham</i>	<i>nē b’ulā diyā</i>
˘˘˘—˘˘˘	˘˘˘—˘˘˘	˘˘˘—˘˘˘	˘˘˘—˘˘˘

“Place the end of the shroud aslant on my forehead. My murderers should not think that after death we have given up the coquetry caused by taking pride in our Love³⁰”.

فیض Faiz

(Rhythm in §262)

29 For the phonemic status of final *-i* and *-a* in Persian loanwords cf. §303.

30 Love here stands for (leftist) ideology. Faiz, who wrote this poem in Montgomery Jail, uses the traditional mystical imagery in a modern political context.

مٹ جائیں ایک آن میں کثرت نمایاں ہم آئینے کے سامنے جب آکے ہو کریں

miṭ jāē
ham 'āi-

ēk' 'ān'
nē³¹ kē sām'

mē kasratnu-
nē jab 'ākē

māiyā
hū karē

“All appearances of plurality vanish in one instant when we come before the mirror and say Hū³²”.

درد Dard

(Rhythm in §§237-238)

In the first example Arabic *jahīn* and Persian *gumān* must be scanned *jabī* and *gumā*, but in the second example Arabic *ān* must be scanned *ān'*. In the following two verses by Saudā *hāḡbān* must be scanned *hāḡ'hān'* and *hāḡ'bā* respectively:

رخصت ہے باغبان کرٹک نکھیں لیں چمن جاتے ہیں اں جہاں سے پھر آیا نہ جائیگا

ruxsat hāi
jātē hāi

bāḡ'hān'
vā³³ jahā sē

ki tuk dēk^h
p^hir āyā na

lē caman
jāḡgā

“Do we have the permission, o Gardener, to glance at the garden? (Allow it, for) we are going there from whence there is no return”.

(Rhythm in §§237-238)

جباب لب جو ہیں اے باغبان ہم چمن کو ترے کوئی دم دیکھتے ہیں

hubāb e:
caman kō

lab e: jū
terē kō-

hāi ai bā-
ī dam dē-

ḡ'bā ham
k^htē hāi

31 Cf. §318.

32 The mystical syllable *hū* is used for concentrating the thoughts upon God. Originally it is the Arabic third person personal pronoun “he” i.e. “He, God” (Cf §126). The verse contains a beautiful double image: Firstly, when we concentrate our thoughts upon Him, all else disappears from the mirror of the mind, but also, if we place ourselves before a mirror and say hoo our breath will blur the mirror’s surface and all images will disappear.

33 To be pronounced with a breathy vowel, see §§309-310.

“O Gardener, we are (ephemeral like) the bubbles at the edge of the stream.
We look at your flowerbed (only) some moments”.
(Rhythm in §§ 173-177)

§ 297 Short nasalized vowels occur only in native words and are always short.

جگ میں کوئی نہ ٹک ہنسا ہوگا کہ نہ ہنسنے میں رو دیا ہوگا

<i>jag mē kōi</i>	<i>na tuk hāsā</i>	<i>hōgā</i>
<i>ki na hāsnē</i>	<i>mē rō diyā</i>	<i>hōgā</i>
— — — —	— — — —	— —

“No one in the world has (ever) laughed the least bit without weeping
at the same time (lit. that he did not weep in laughing)”. Dard
(Rhythm in 230-232.)

[Ad Chapter X]

§ 298 In the treatment of final long vowels Urdu prosody differs most markedly from Persian prosody. In Urdu all final long vowels and diphthongs whether nasalized or not may be shortened as the metre requires.

In almost all the Urdu examples quoted so far instances of shortened long finals occur. In the following verse *kī* and *kī*, *hai* and *hāi* occur side by side:

نیند اس کی ہے دماغ اس کا ہے راتیں اس کی ہیں
تیری زلفیں جس کے بازو پر پریشاں ہو گئیں

<i>nīd' us kī</i>	<i>hai dimāḡ us</i>	<i>kā hāi rātē</i>	<i>us kī hāi</i>
<i>tērī zulfē</i>	<i>jis kē bāzū</i>	<i>par parēšā</i>	<i>hō gaī</i>
— — — —	— — — —	— — — —	— — — —

“(Sound) sleep is his, brain (i.e. sanity) is his, (joyous) nights are his,
on whose arms your locks have become dishevelled”. Gālib
(Rhythm in §§ 199-200)

§ 299 The above rule of course applies to Persian loanwords ending in *-ā* from Persian *e* (Classical Persian *-a*). See examples in §§ 278, 284 first verse, 285 first verse.

§ 300 The demonstrative-anaphoric pronouns وہ “he, she, it, the, that” and یہ “he, she, it, the, this” are in careful elocution pronounced *vah*³⁴ and *yah*³⁴ respectively. In ordinary speech as well as in poetry they are pronounced *vō* and *yē*, which may, of course, be shortened to *vō* and *yē* when the metre requires, as in the following famous verse by Gālib.

عشق پر زور نہیں ہے یہ وہ آتش غالب کہ لگائے نہ لگے اور بجھائے نہ بنے

‘išq’ par zō-

r’ nahī hai

yē vō ātiš

Gālib

ki lagāē

na lagē au-

r’ buj^hāē

na hanē

— — —

— — —

— — —

— — —

“On love no force (can be applied) for this is the fire; o Gālib, which when kindled will not burn, and when slaked cannot be killed (lit. slaking will not succeed”).

(Rhythm in §§211-212)

§ 301 In native words as well as loanwords of the type mentioned in §299 long final vowels and shortened final vowels are equally common. In Persian and Arabic loanwords (including those ending in original long *ā*) the metrical shortening of final long vowels is rare. In the example below we find *daṣvā* for *daṣvā*.

مے سجود کی دیر و حرم سے گزری قدر رکھوں ہوں منوئی تے در پہ جہر سائی کا

merē sujū-

d’ kī dair o:

haram sē guz-

rī qadr

rak^hū hū daṣ-

vā terē dar

pa jabhāsā-

ī kā

— — —

— — —

— — —

— —

“The merit of my prostration transcends (the merit gained by prostrating oneself in) temple and mosque. (For) I do maintain that I have rubbed my forehead against *your* threshold”.

Saudā

(Rhythm in §§228-229)

§ 302 The final long vowel of the first member of a compound may also be shortened (*jabhā-sāi* in §301), as may a long vowel preceding the future signs *-gā*, *-gē*³⁴ etc.

34 The reason why long vowels may be shortened before the future sign is that this was originally a separate word. It is derived from Sanskrit *gata-* “gone”. *dik^hāūgā* literally meant “I am gone to show”. In everyday speech, too, long vowels are shortened before the future sign.

دکھاؤں گا تجھے زابداں آفت جاں کو خلل دماغ میرے ہے پارسائی کا

dik^hāṭṭgā

tuj^hē zāhid

us āfat e:

jā kō

xalal dimā-

ḡ^o mē tērē

hāi pār'sā-

ī kā

— — —

— — —

— — —

— —

“O zealot, I will show you that calamity of the soul (i.e. my beloved, who causes me to neglect and forget religion). There is disorder in your brain—caused by (lit. of) chastity (and a glimpse of my beloved would immediately cure that)”.
Saudā

(Rhythm in 228-229)

§ 303 The prosodically ambivalent value of long final vowels reflects their pronunciation in the spoken language, where they are pronounced considerably shorter than long vowels in other positions, often almost as short as short vowels. (This is the reason why English loanwords ending in short vowels are invariably rendered with long final vowels in the Urdu and Hindi scripts. Thus *city* becomes سٹی *siṭī* and सिटी <*siṭī*>). It would be wrong to conclude that the distinction between long and short final vowels is neutralized in Urdu. However, words like *ki* “that”, *varna* “else” (see § 295) are not sufficient to warrant a distinction between long and short final vowels.

For a correct description of the Urdu (and Hindi) vowel system we must say that in the first syllable there is a phonemic distinction of long and short vowels. In word internal position we must distinguish between long vowels on the one hand and short or reduced vowels on the other hand. In word final position long vowels contrast with reduced vowels. It is important to notice that the difference between short and reduced vowels is not phonemically relevant.

§ 304 کوئی *kōī* “some” can be scanned in four ways: *kōī* (see the example in § 297), *kōī* (§ 296 last example), *kōī* and *kōī*

ماہر و کا درس دیکھا جو کوئی عقل کھو کر عشق کا عاقل ہوا

māh'rū kā

dars' dēk'hā

jō kōī

ṣaql' k'hōkar

ṣiṣq' kā ṣā-

qil huā

— — —

— — —

— — —

“Whoever attended the school of love (lit. saw the lesson of the moon-faced one), lost his wisdom, (yet) was made (lit. became) wise by (lit. of) love”.
(Rhythm in §§ 201-203) سراج Sirāj

Here we have to read *kōī*. An instance of *kōī* is seen in the following verse in which Gālib complains over “religious” people prompted by hope of reward rather than love of God.

طاقت میں تارہے نہ مے انگیس کی لاگ درخ میں ڈال دو کوئی لیکر بہشت کو

tā'at mē
dōzax mē

— — ∪

tā rahē na
dāl' dō kō-

— ∪ — ∪

may o: anga-
ī lēkar bi-

∪ — — ∪

bī kī lāg
hišt' kō

— ∪ —

“Take and throw Heaven down into Hell, somebody, in order that devotion should not contain (any) love of wine and honey”.
(Rhythm in §§ 237-238)

§ 305 A short vowel is often contracted with a following long vowel into a diphtong. Thus *gai* (∪ —) and *gaē* (∪ —) “went” may become *gai* (—) and *gaē* (—), and *huī* (∪ —) “became” may be read *hui* (—) as in the following examples:

تجھ مکھ کی پرش میں گئی عمر میری ساری اے بت کی پجن باری اس بت کو پجاتی جا

tuḡ' muk' kī
ai but kī

— — ∪

parastiṣ mē
pujanhārī

∪ — — —

gai 'umr'
us but kō

| — — ∪

merī sārī
pujātī jā

∪ — — —

“My whole life has passed in worshipping your face. O idol-worshipper, allow that (other) idol (i.e. yourself) to be worshipped”.
(Rhythm in §§ 223-225) Valī

گذر گئے دین اور دنیا سے تس پر ترا گھر اور کئی منزل رہا ہے

guzar gaē di-
terā g'ar 'āur

∪ — — —

n' 'āur dunyā
kāi manzil

∪ — — —

sē tis par
rahā hai

∪ — —

“We have passed from (i.e. given up) religion and world (i.e. both our

material and spiritual welfare). Still, your house remains several more stages (away)".

مظہر Mazhar

(Rhythm in §§ 194-196)

موج بیتابی دل اشک میں ہوئی جلو نما جب بسی زلف صنم طبع پریشان میں آ

mauj e bētā-

bī e dil `aš-

k` mē huj jal-

vānumā

jab basī zul-

f e sanam tab-

ʕ e parēšā-

n` mē ā

— ˘ — —

˘ ˘ — —

˘ ˘ — —

˘ ˘ —

"The surge of my heart's impatience has become manifest in my tears ever since my beloved's locks came and took possession of (lit. settled in) my distracted mind".

Valī

(Rhythm in §§ 211-212)

See also the example in § 307 (*tāī* for *taī* "to, up to").

§ 306 Finally in a verse (or halfverse or before a *caesura*) two long vowels may be contracted. In the following example we find *calcalāo* for *calcalāo*³⁵ "going and coming", and *jāē* for *jāē*³⁵.

ساقیاں لگ رہا ہے چلچلاؤ جب تلک بس چل سکے ساغر چلے

*sāqiyā yā*³⁶

lag rahā hai

calcalāo

jab talak bas

cal sakē sā-

ḡar calē

— ˘ — —

— ˘ — —

— ˘ —

"O cup-bearer, departures (from this world) are taking place (continually, so) let the cup go round as long as only it can".

Dard

(Rhythm in §§ 201-203)

دلکشی چاں میں ایسی کہ ستارے رُک جائیں سرکشی ناز میں ایسی کہ گونز جھٹ جائیں

dilkaši cā-

l` mē aisi

ki sitarē

ruk jāē

sarkaši nā-

z` mē aisi

ki gavarnar

j`uk jāē

— ˘ — —

˘ ˘ — —

˘ ˘ — —

— —

35 It is perhaps better to analyse *calcalāo* phonemically as *calcalāv*. In that case no special rule is needed to explain how *calcalāv* can be scanned — ˘ — finally in a verse. Similarly *jāē* might be analysed as *jāy*.

36 To be pronounced with a breathy vowel, see §§ 309-310.

“Such loveliness in her gait that stars stop (in their course); such pride in her bearing that governors bow”.

اکبر الہ آبادی Akbar Ilāhābādī

(Rhythm in §§ 211-212)

§ 307 The rules stated in §§ 305 and 306 may even be applied to vowels separated by *h*. *pahūcā* (— —) “reached” may thus become *pāu^hcā* (— —) and *nahī* may become *nāi^h*.

پہنچا جو آپ کو تو میں پہنچا خدا کے تئیں
معلوم اب ہوا کہ بہت میں بھی دور تھا

pāu^hcā jō

āp^h kō tō

māi pāu^hcā xu-

dā kē tāi

ma^hlūm^h

‘ab huā ki

bahut māi bhī

dūr^h thā

— — —

— — —

— — —

— — —

“When I reached (my) Self, then I reached God. Now I realized (lit. it became known) that I too had been (lit. was) very far away (from God when searching Him in mosques and temples)”.

میر Mir

(Rhythm in §§ 237-238)

§ 308 When such contractions occur *hamza* is occasionally substituted for *hē* in the script. In the following example we find *nāi³⁷* for *nahī* “not”. (Instances of *nāi^h*—and in the same verse *nahī* too—may be seen in § 321).

عاقبت ہوئی گا کیا معلوم نہیں
دل ہوا ہے مبتلا دلدار کا

‘āqibat hō-

ēgā k‘ā ma^h-

lūm^h nāi³⁷

dil huā hai

mubtalā dil-

dār^h kā

— — —

— — —

— — —

“I don’t know what the end is going to be. My heart has become (too) involved with my beloved (to care for the consequences)”.

Valī

(Rhythm in §§ 201-203)

§ 309 When the vowels preceding and following *hē* are both *ā*, the resulting contraction is in the script rendered only by a long *ā*, thus we find very commonly *yā* and *vā* for *yahā* “here” and *vahā* “there”. See §§ 296 third example (*vā*) and 306 first example (*yā*).

37 To be pronounced *nāi^h*, see § 310.

§310 These somewhat surprising contractions of vowels across an intervening *h* are in complete agreement with the speech habits of Northern India. In Urdu and Hindi the phoneme /*h*/ is in slow speech realized as a glottal fricative, usually voiced [ɦ]. In fast speech /*h*/ is realized as the suprasegmental feature “breathiness”. In other words [ɦ] disappears and the adjacent vowels are instead pronounced with a breathy or *h*-coloured voice quality³⁸.

Whether written نئی or نہیں, the contracted form of *nahī* must be pronounced breathily *nāī^h*. وان and بان should be pronounced *vā^h* and *yā^h*. In the script this pronunciation is very rarely shown with the spellings وہان and یہاں which very aptly (and much better than my transcription) render the breathiness.

[Ad Chapter XI]

§311 As mentioned in §§ 283-284 Persian (and Arabic) loanwords are in the spoken language adapted to the syllabic structure of Urdu, but revert to their original form in poetry. Thus Persian نرم *narm* “soft” and Arabic رضوی *rizavī* “Rizwee (a surname)” become *naram* and *rizvī* in the spoken language, but revert to *narm* and *rizavī* in poetry

As might be expected popular forms with anaptyctic vowels or suppressed *a*’s turn up here and there in poetry. Instances are, however, surprisingly rare. In the following two examples we find *tarah* for *tarh* “manner” and *qadmō* for *qadamō* “feet”.

ہم سخن تیشہ نے فرہاد کو شیریں سے کیا جس طرح کا کہ کسی میں ہو کمال اچھلے

hamsuxan tī-

šē nē farhā-

d^h kō širī

sē kiyā

jis tarah kā

ki kisi mē

hō kamāl ac-

chā hai

— ∪ — —

∪ ∪ — —

∪ ∪ — —

∪ ∪ —

“The mattock made Farhād acquainted with Širīn. Whatever kind of excellence one may have, it is good”.

Ġālib

38 Bailey, Firth & Harley: *Teach Yourself Urdu*, pp. XXVIII-XXXII (London 1956) teaches how to pronounce breathy vowels. A thought provoking discussion of the relationship between segmental phonemes and suprasegmental features is given by J.R. Firth (who uses the word “prosody” in the sense of suprasegmental feature) in his article *Sounds and Prosodies*, Transactions of the Philological Society 1948, pp. 121-152. (London 1949).

عرض کی سیرنے کر اے گلشنِ فطرت کی بہار دولت و عزت و ایمان ترے ندرِ موابجِ نثار

<i>arz³⁹ kī māī</i>	<i>nē ki ai gul-</i>	<i>šan e fītrat</i>	<i>kī bahār</i>
<i>daulat o: ʕiz-</i>	<i>zat o imā</i>	<i>terē qadmō</i>	<i>pa nisār</i>
— ∪ — —	∪ ∪ — —	∪ ∪ — —	∪ ∪ —

“Humbly I said: ‘O glory of nature’s rose-garden, at thy feet (I would fain) offer my wealth and honour and faith’ ”. Akbar Ilāhābādī

(Rhythm of both examples in §§ 211-212)

§ 312 Doubling of consonants for metre’s sake is very rare in Urdu. In the verse below we must read *uṭṭhō* for *uṭhō* “rise!”

اٹھو میری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو کاخِ امرا کے در و دیوار ہلا دو

<i>uṭṭhō mē-</i>	<i>rī³⁹ dunyā kē</i>	<i>ḡarībō kō</i>	<i>jagā dō</i>
<i>kāx e: u-</i>	<i>marā kē da-</i>	<i>r o divār³</i>	<i>hilā dō</i>
— — ∪	∪ — — ∪	∪ — — ∪	∪ — —

“Rise, wake up the poor ones of My world! Shake the door and wall of the palace of the rich”! Iqbāl

(Rhythm in §§ 220-222)

§ 313 In Urdu prosody *i* is occasionally changed to *y* before a vowel. Thus رکھو *rak^{hi}ō* (∪ ∪ —) “place!” may become *rak^{hy}ō* (— —). For کبیجے *kijīē* (— ∪ —) “do”! we often find کبیجے *kijē* (— —). Here *kijē* (Prākṛit *kijjaī*) is the older form which has survived in the poetic tradition beside *kijīē*, a modern form showing normalization of the ending *-iē*.

حسد سزائے کمال سخن ہے کیا کیجے تسم بہائے متاعِ ہنر ہے کیا کیجے

<i>hasad sazā</i>	<i>e kamāl e:</i>	<i>suxan hāī k^{ya}ā</i>	<i>kijē</i>
<i>sitam bahā</i>	<i>e matā⁴⁰ e:</i>	<i>hunar hāī k^{ya}ā</i>	<i>kahiē⁴⁰</i>
∪ — ∪ —	∪ ∪ — —	∪ — ∪ —	∪ ∪ —

“Envy is the punishment for perfection of words (o: my perfect poetry). What to do? Spite is the price of art’s merchandise. What to say”? Gālib

39 See §§ 315-317.

40 Or *kahyē*.

1

سمجھ کے رکھو قدمِ دشتِ ظاہر میں مجنوں • کہ اس نواح میں سوزِ ابر نہ پیا بھی ہے

<i>samaj^hkē rak^h-</i>	<i>yō qadam daš-</i>	<i>t e xār^o mē</i>	<i>majnūn⁴¹</i>
<i>ki us navā-</i>	<i>h^o mē^h saudā</i>	<i>haræhnāpā</i>	<i>h^hi hai</i>
- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- -

“Place your feet discreetly in the plain of thorns (o: love), O Majnūn, for Saudā is (competing with you) in that field, (and) barefooted too”!
(Rhythm of both examples in §§ 228-229) Saudā

§ 314 The opposite change—the metrical change of *y* to *i*—is extremely rare. In the following line by سوز Sōz we have to scan کیا *k^oā* “what”? as *kiā* (against § 280).

سوز کیوں آیا عدم کو چھوڑ کر دنیا میں تو • وال تجھے کیا تھی کمی تجھ کو کیا در کا تھا

<i>sōz^o k^oā-</i>	<i>yā śadam kō</i>	<i>c^hōṛ^okar dun-</i>	<i>yā mē^h tū</i>
<i>vā⁴² tuj^hē k^oā</i>	<i>t^hi kamī tuj^h</i>	<i>kō kiā dar-</i>	<i>kār^o t^hā</i>
- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -

“O Sōz, why have you given up (the way leading to) annihilation⁴³ (in God) and come into the world? What want did you suffer there, what need”?
(Rhythm in §§ 199-200)

[Ad Chapter XII]

§ 315 What has been said about poetic licence in Persian poetry in Chapter XII applies *mūtātis mūtandis* to Urdu too. However, the Urdu poets seem to use their poetic licence less than their Persian models, obviously because there are more rhythmical ambiguities in the language itself to be exploited. (Cf. in this connection especially § 298 above.)

41 Lailā's ill-fated lover who represents the sum total of desperate love.

42 Pronounce *vā^h* (cf. §§ 309-310).

43 Again a pun: *śadam* also means “need” and “want”.

§316 The commonest poetic licence is the shortening of *ē* to *e* in some very frequent everyday words, میرا *mērā* “my”, تیرا *tērā* “thy” and ایک *ēk* “one” becoming مرا *merā* ترا *terā* and اک *ek*.

In the first example below we find *tērī* and *terī* side by side, in the second example *ēk* and *ek*.

تمنا ہے تیری اگر ہے تمنا تری آرزو ہے اگر آرزو ہے

tamannā

hāi tērī

agar hai

tamannā

terī ā-

r'zū hai

agar `ā-

r'zū hai

— — —

— — —

— — —

— — —

“The wish is yours if there is a wish. Yours is the desire if there is a desire⁴⁴”.

Dard

(Rhythm in §§ 173-177)

مجلس میں رات ایک ترے پر تو بغیر کیا شمع کیا پتنگ ہر اک بے حضور تھا

majlis mē

rāt' `ēk'

terē parta-

v e: bağair

k'ā šam'

k'ā patang'

har ek bē hu-

zūr' t'ā

— — —

— — —

— — —

— — —

“Lacking solely thy splendour (و: when thou alone wert missing) at night in the assembly, everyone was disturbed⁴⁵, even candle and moth”. Mir
(Rhythm in §§ 237-238)

§317 Because of their sense and employment words like “my”, “thy” and “one” are prone to shortening⁴⁶. There is therefore nothing surprising in the shortening of *mērā*, *tērā* and *ēk* to *merā*, *terā* and *ek*.

In dictionaries and elsewhere the shortened forms are often transcribed, *mirā*, *tirā*, *ik*, still they must be pronounced with a short *e*. This is borne out by the fact that we occasionally find *mērā*, *tērā* and *ēk* with long *ē*

44 This clever *double entendre* may be understood in several ways. The poet seems innocently to say, if there is anything you wish, it is entirely up to you, i.e. I shall willingly comply with your wishes, or perhaps, your wishes do not concern me at all, but at the same time the poet is passionately pleading, if I have any desire at all it is you I desire, or perhaps he means to say that he longs for God alone.

45 Untranslatable pun on *bē huzūr* “absent” lit. “presenceless”. Every one was without thy presence and therefore disturbed and absent in mind.

46 Thus English “one” is shortened to “a” in unstressed position.

in the script, where the metre requires short *e*. See the example in §312 and cf. the use of *i* and *ū* to indicate *i* and *u* discussed in §318.

§318 We sometimes—and in the oldest Urdu poetry very often—find ی and و used to indicate short *i* and *u*. Evidently the writers felt that the vowel quality was more important than the vowel quantity. It is certainly irritating for the reader that words like *id^har* “here” and *ud^har* “there” are written alike ادھر, so spellings like ایدھر and اودھر have something to commend themselves⁴⁷.

When such spellings are met with in poetry the vowels must of course be pronounced short.

اوٹھ گئے کا لو ہو دسواؤں میں نیند آتی تجھے سولاؤں میں
چل ترا پالتا جھولاؤں میں حیف یو بالین ترا اصغر

ūl⁴⁸ galē kā

nīd⁴⁸ ātī

cal terā pā-

haif⁴⁸ yū bā-

— — —

lūhū⁴⁸ d^hūlā-

tuj^hē sūlā-

l^hnā j^hūlā-

l^hpan terā

— — —

ū⁴⁸ māi

ū⁴⁸ māi

ū⁴⁸ māi

asgar

— —

“Rise, let me wash off the blood of your throat. Let me put you to sleep (if you) feel sleepy. Come, let me rock your cradle. Alas (that) such (should be) your childhood, O Ali Asghar”.

Hāšim ʿAlī

(Rhythm in §§230-232)

Notice that in the word آئینہ *āinā* “mirror” the second syllable is in poetry as in everyday speech normally short. See the second example in §296.

§319 Imitating as it were the archaic spellings mentioned in the previous paragraph, Urdu poets occasionally allow themselves a rather jarring lengthening of *i* or *u*.

47 In the modern orthography ی and و as indicators of short *i* and *u* are banned, with just one curious exception. The ending *-pur* in names of towns is always spelled پور. Thus *jaunpūr* “town in Eastern U.P.” and hence also *jaunpūri* “inhabitant of Jaunpur”.

48 *ū* here does not indicate a metrically shortened vowel. It indicates a short vowel only graphically long.

درد کچھ معلوم ہے یہ لوگ سب کس طرف سے آئے تھے کبوتر چلے

dard^o kuch^h ma^o- lūm^o hai yē lōg^o sab
kis taraf sē āē t^hē kī- d^har⁴⁹ calē
 - ∪ - - - ∪ - - - ∪ -

Alas⁵⁰, is it at all known, where all these people came from and whither they went"? Dard

(Rhythm in §§201-203)

§320 Archaic or rather dialect forms are frequent in Urdu poetry. In the examples given in this chapter we notice *kāu*⁵¹ (§284 second example and §285 third example) and *kē tai* (§307) for *kō* "to". *manē* (§285 second example) for *mē* "in". *talak* (§306 first example) for *tak* "up to". *muj^h* (§278) for *mērē* "my", *tuj^h* (§305 first example) for *tērē* "thy". *rak^hiō* (§313 second example) for *rak^hiē* "place!".

§321 Editors and scribes sometimes substitute the standard forms for the dialect forms used by the poets and allowance must be made for this when scanning. In the following example we have to read the dialect form *m^hārē* *مہارے* for the standard form *hamārē* *ہمارے* given in the text.

کوئی ہمارے درد کا محرم نہیں آشنا نہیں دوست نہیں ہمدم نہیں

kōī m^hārē dard^o kā mah- ram nahī
āś^hnā nāi^h dōs^o nāi^h ham- dam nahī
 - ∪ - - - ∪ - - - ∪ -

"I have no one to confide my sorrow to (lit. not any confidential of my pain), no fellow, no friend, no companion". Sirāj

(Rhythm in §§201-203).

49 Perhaps the transcription *ki: d^har* should have been preferred.

50 Giving at the same time the poet's *nom de plume*.

51 In the age of Valī and Qutbshāh probably pronounced *kāu^h* (< Old Hindi *kāhū*, cf. §307 and 310.)

[Ad PART TWO]

§ 322 On the whole the metres and rhythms popular with the Persian poets are popular with their Urdu brethren, but there are two noteworthy exceptions. The *sarīḥ* metre (§§ 216-219) is very rare in Urdu. On the other hand, the metre described in § 262—though extremely rare in Persian poetry—is quite common among Urdu poets. The first example in § 296 is in this metre.

§ 323 Occasionally Urdu poets employ more or less adapted *hindī* “native Indian” rhythms. A description of these falls outside the scope of this work⁵².

52 The basis of most of these rhythms is a foot consisting of four *morae* which may be realized in the following ways:

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 — —
 — ∪ ∪
 ∪ ∪ —
 ∪ — ∪

The *hindī* rhythm most commonly met with is

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — | — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

Examples may be seen in Matthews and Shackle: *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, London (O.U.P.) 1972, pp. 63, 73 and 135.

THE ADAPTATION OF CLASSICAL PERSIAN PROSODY TO KARAKHANIDIC (MIDDLE EAST-TURKISH)

§ 324 Chapter XXVI will deal with Ottoman Turkish prosody. However, since Ottoman Turkish poetry is heavily loaded with Persian and Arabic loanwords, and moreover these loanwords follow the rules of Classical Persian prosody, it will be useful first to look at a purer Turkish idiom. For this purpose I have selected the Karakhanidic¹ *Ḳutadḡu Bilig* "Auspicious Knowledge", a book of advice (cf. § 181) completed in 1069/70 by Yusuf Ulug' Hacib².

§ 325 It has often been stated that the "Perso-Arabian prosodial system ... is essentially unsuitable" to Turkish poetry, "for while the Perso-Arabian prosody is quantitative, there are, strictly speaking, no long vowels in the Turkish language"³. This is only a half truth. The two major factors in bringing about poetic rhythm in Persian are the opposition of short and long vowels and the opposition of open and closed syllables⁴. The former plays no role in the Turkish languages, but the opposition between open and closed syllables is found in all of them, and it is therefore *possible* to compose poetry in accordance with the Persian rules in any Turkish tongue.

1 An East-Turkish language formerly spoken in Sinkiang around Kâşgar.

2 Examples are quoted and numbered after Reşid Rahmeti Arat: *Ḳutadḡu Bilig* (Istanbul 1947) and I follow his transcription except that I write *ñ* for *ñg*. Note that a dot underneath a vowel indicates that it is not written in the original alphabets (Arabic and Uighur).

3 E.J.W. Gibb: *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London 1900-1909) vol. I, p. 104 (hereafter referred to as Gibb). M. Fuad Köprülü even asserts that "la structure de la langue turque était entièrement hostile à ce système de versification de type quantitatif, propre à l'arabe". *La métrique Şarûz dans la poésie turque* in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II (Aquis Mattiacis 1964) p. 254.

4 See Chapters III and IV above.

§ 326 Now consider the following lines from *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig*:

326	<i>tüzünlüg</i> ⁵	<i>kerek hem</i>	<i>siliglig</i> ⁵	<i>kerek</i>
	<i>ukuşluğ</i>	<i>kerek hem</i>	<i>biliglig</i>	<i>kerek</i>
	υ — —	υ — —	υ — —	υ —

“He must be gentle and he must be eloquent. He must be intelligent and he must be wise (lit. a gentle one is needed, an eloquent one, too, is needed, etc.)”.

Here the rhythmical effect is brought about exclusively by the opposition of open (*tü*, *ke*-, *si*-) and closed (*-zün*-, *-lüg*, *-rek*) syllables. The metre is *motaqāreb* (*mütekarip*) as we would expect in this type of poetry (cf. § 181). However, such completely regular successions of open and closed syllables are rare and have not been noticed before. Some scholars have held that *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* is not at all quantitative, but like “the true spontaneous poetry of the Turkish people”⁶ is syllabic, the *number* of syllables in each line alone bringing about the rhythmical effect. Others rightly state that *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* is in the *motaqāreb* metre, but are unable to give their reasons for this view, saying only that the verses are defective and irregular⁷. But, as we shall see, the rhythm of *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* is neither defective nor irregular. The reason why this has so long escaped notice, may be that everyone has been busy looking for an opposition of long and short vowels and not paid sufficient attention to the consonants. Two simple rules will reduce the number of rhythmically “defective” syllables to about one per cent and a few additional rules will account for most of the remainder.

§ 327 The first and most important rule says that any word boundary may optionally count as a consonant according to the requirements of the metre. Long passages of *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* can be scanned regularly with the help of

5 Arat wrongly reads *tüzünlük* and *siliglik*.

6 Gibb, vol. I, p. 104, cf. *ibid.* p. 71.

7 “Les poètes turc ... emploient ces formes ... de façon si défectueuse que, pour pouvoir adapter les mots ... ils doivent les altérer dans leur prononciation, un même mot étant prononcé de façons très différentes selon sa position dans différents vers d'un même poème”. Köprülü, *op. cit.* p. 255. The thesis that the Turks preferred Persian metres of eleven syllables, because their original syllabic poetry—of which we know nothing whatsoever—had eleven syllables, is unnecessary, for the oldest extant Turkish poems are all narrative poems and as such must have eleven syllables according to the Persian rules. Cf. §§ 138-139 above.

this rule alone. In the following a prosodically significant word boundary is marked with #.

542	öküş #ed- işin #it-	gü sözler ge men tip	tilin söz- katıg kur	ledi# badı#
543	bu yañlıg kişi# #ed-	bolur bu# güsi# #ol	kişi# #ed- bodun yüd-	güsi# güsi#
544	negü# tir kamuğ #iş-	#eşitgil ni yetrü#	budun baş- körüp #iş-	lar er ler er
545	kimiñ dev- kamuğ #ed-	leti# baş gü kılgu#	kötürse# budunka#	#örü# törü#
546	kimiñ #el- silig bol-	gi bolsa# gu kılkı#	budunka# kılınçı#	#uzun tüzün
547	yorık bol- süçig tut-	sa kimniñ ⁸ gu til söz	budunka# me kodkı#	sözi# #özi#
548	yayıg #ol ne #irsel	bu devlet turur ter-	#iter hem k irikse#	buzar tezer
549	bu kutka# bu kün mun-	#inanma# da erse#	#usa# #ed- yarın #an-	gü kıl da bil
550	bu kutka# keligli#	küvenme# turur kut	#ay ⁹ kut bul- yana# bar-	guçı# guçı#
551	ay ⁹ devlet turāyın ¹⁰	#ıdısi# ¹⁰ tise# tur	bu devlet sen edgü#	bile# tile#
552	saña# teg- kiçiglik	se beglik #anuk tut	#uluğluk #örüñ bol-	#oka# guka#
	υ — —	υ — —	υ — —	υ —

“He spoke many good words with his tongue. I shall perform your task (i.e. do what you want me to do), (he said and) buckled tightly his belt. (Of) this type is this “best of men”. The “best of men” (is) he (who is) a carrier of (the burdens of) the people.

Listen (to) what he says, the man standing at the head of the people, the man acting (only) after having looked thoroughly at everything:

(He) whose fortune raises up its head, must make all good laws for the people.

8 Arat reads *kimiñ* and gives *kimniñ* in the critical apparatus. Since *kimiñ* does not suit the rhythm, I prefer to read *kimniñ*. Dr. Saadet Çağatay in her *Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri* (Ankara 1963) p. 90 also reads *kimniñ*. A correct knowledge of the prosody of *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* would be very helpful in establishing the original text.

9 See § 328.

10 See § 329.

(He) who gains power over the people (lit. whose hand becomes long to the people), pure must be his character, just his acts.

(He) whose word is current to (i.e. obeyed by) the people, pleasant shall he keep his word and low his person.

Changeable (is) it, this fortune. It makes and unmakes. How fickle it is! When it turns away it flees swiftly.

Do not trust fortune, do good if you can (i.e. as long as fortune enables you to). Know (that) today it stays with this one, tomorrow with that.

O you who will find fortune, do not rely upon this fortune. Fortune is (a guest) who comes (and) who leaves again.

O possessor of fortune, if you say 'let me abide with fortune', (then) you (must) keep on wishing good.

If greatness and kingship come to you, know (then that you must) keep meekness ready for when you are grey".

With the exception of 550 and 551 all the verses above scan regularly. In some verses we find a double # #. This does not mean that we have to reckon with a double word boundary. It is simply a device intended to show how the passage is to be understood prosodically. The sign # may in fact have had a phonetic realization as a slight pause. From the point of view of rhythm, a syllable preceding a pause always gives the impression of a long syllable.

§ 328 In 550 and 551 a "minor" rule is illustrated: The vocative particle *ay* is prosodically short. Perhaps this is not a rule of prosody, but an indication that this word was pronounced *e* or *i*.

§ 329 The second major rule says that a non-final open syllable following another open syllable in the same word is always long. Thus *ıdısi* and *turayın* in 551 must be scanned *ıdısi* and *turāyın* respectively. (It is important to note that forms like **ıdısi* and **tūrayın* do not occur.) In the following verse there are four instances of this rule:

1819	<i>kūnĩne#</i>	<i>teñēdür</i>	<i>туру# #ög-</i>	<i>lenür</i>
	<i>negūni#</i>	<i>tilēse#</i>	<i>bilür #ög-</i>	<i>renür</i>

"(The child) keeps growing day by day and acquires reason, (so) whatever he wants he knows and learns".

Even originally short vowels in Arabic loanwords may be lengthened according to this rule:

B 12	<i>bu meşriķ</i>	<i>mēliki#</i>	<i>maçınlar</i>	<i>begi#</i>
	<i>biliglig</i>	<i>#ukuşluğ</i>	<i>#ajunda#</i>	<i>yigi#</i>

“The ruler of the East, the lord of the Chinese, the wise, the discerning, the best in the world (appreciate *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig*)”.

§ 330 If three non-final open syllables follow one another, naturally both the second and the third of these are prosodically long in accordance with the rule given in the last paragraph:

1794	<i>atañ #ög-</i>	<i>retümē-</i>	<i>di erdem</i>	<i>bilig</i>
	<i>tegümē-</i>	<i>di mindin</i>	<i>yime# #ök</i>	<i>#elig</i>

“Your father (who had died) could not teach (you) virtue and knowledge. From me, too, guidance (lit. reason-knowledge) has not been able to reach (you)”.

§ 331 An important minor rule says that originally long vowels in Arabic loanwords are optionally read long or short. In the following example *Ḥacib* (حاجب), the author’s title, is read *Hācib*. (In § 333 footnote 11 an example of *Ḥacib* to be read with short *a* may be seen).

507	<i>ayıttı#</i>	<i>bu Hācib</i>	<i>sözün yet-</i>	<i>rürek</i>
	<i>tilēki#</i>	<i>ne ermiş</i>	<i>taķı# büt-</i>	<i>rürek</i>

“This *Ḥacib* asked (him) (lit. with words made say) carefully and thoroughly what his request was”.

§ 332 It should be noted that there is no prosodically significant difference between long and overlong syllables in Karakhanidic Turkish. In other words, a sequence of three consonants (like *kend tutar* in the following example) has metrically the same value as a sequence of two consonants:

B 34	<i>yine# bu#</i>	<i>kıtab kör</i>	<i>ķamuḡka#</i>	<i>yarar</i>
	<i>mēlikler-</i>	<i>ke artuķ</i>	<i>#ilig ķend</i>	<i>tutar</i>

“Look again at this book, beneficial to all (and) most (of all) to the kings, the town-holding lords”.

§ 333 Scanned according to the rules given above, *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* has few irregularities. Some of these are undoubtedly due to corrupt readings. A careful prosodical analysis of the complete poem might reveal some additional rules, which would further reduce the number of irregular syllables.

In Chapter XII (verses 398-461 in Arat’s text) which has a total number of 1408 syllables, we find ten prosodically irregular syllables, all of them irregularly lengthened vowels: 399b *yāşı*, 401a *seviglini*, 401b *ķacıḡliķa*, 415a *ilig*, 421a *işi*, 440a *işiñe*, 440b *yāşıña*, 443b *iki*, 456b *mēñü*, 458 *çāvı*. In 456b, 401a and 401b we are probably confronted with corrupt readings.

In the critical apparatus we find the prosodically acceptable readings, *meñgü* (456b) and *kaçıglığa* (401b). We may then conjecture *sevigligni* in 401a. For the other irregular syllables no certain explanation can be given¹¹.

11 I am aware of the danger of proving nothing by attempting to prove too much, and therefore add the following reflections on the irregularly lengthened short vowels with reluctance and reserve. It seems that these irregular lengthenings take place only in a certain limited number of words. Among the seven instances quoted there are two occurrences of both *yāş* and *iş*. We find *çāv* again in 462b. *ilig* is very common e.g. 1764, 1802, 1805, 1815 and the following example:

505	<i>iligke#</i>	<i>yakın Haş</i>	<i>Hacıb #er-</i>	<i>di bir</i>
	<i>ayt# #er-</i>	<i>sig ilig</i>	<i>bile# söz-</i>	<i>ke sır</i>

“Close to the king was one *Has Hacıb* (having) secrecy for word with (i.e. who was a confidential adviser to) the most manly king”.

If the occurrence of irregularly lengthened vowels is really lexically conditioned, we must conclude that these vowels were long in an earlier stage of the language, and this again would be a clear proof that *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* is not the first quantitative poem in Turkish, for only a poetic tradition could have had this result. (Hence the fragments of poetry found in Maḥmūd i Kâşgarî's *Divân i Luğat it Türk* ought to be subjected to a metrical analysis.) It should be noted, however, that the same words occur even more often without lengthened vowels. (There is an occurrence of *ilig* with short *i* in § 332 above and also in the example quoted in this footnote.) Only a metrical analysis of the entire *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* as well as *Ṣatihat ul Haḳâyik*, *Divân i Hikmet* etc. can answer the question.

It is generally assumed that the Old Turkish long vowels were still long in Karakhanidic Middle Turkish (Mecdut Mansuroğlu in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I* Aquis Mattiacis 1959, p. 90), but if Karakhanidic had preserved the distinction, we should have expected this distinction to play a more important role in the poetry. If the rules which I have formulated are correct we must conclude that either the distinction had disappeared, though the poetic tradition still preserved some traces of it, or perhaps that the distinction between long and short vowels was at the point of disappearing, i.e. had an extremely weak phonemic status.

[In his article *Determination of Middle-Turkic long vowels through Ṣarūd* (Acta Orientalia Hungarica XX, 1967) Talât Tekin has tried to show that Karakhanidic long and short vowels may be distinguished by means of the *motaqāreḥ* metre of *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig*. However, his results appear premature. One cannot deduce anything at all about long and short vowels by means of prosody, without first ascertaining the prosodical rules of the language in question. Talât Tekin says nothing about Karakhanidic prosody. He merely looked through “some 500 lines from the work” and found that “with the exception of one or two Turkicised words, all the Arabic and Persian words are scanned properly”. Now, the “one or two Turkicised words” are rather numerous, and there is no reason why “Turkicising” a loanword should result in loss of vowel length, if the language had itself a distinction of short and long vowels. According to Talât Tekin the poet “never scans a short syllable long in Arabic and Persian words”, but as we have seen (§ 329 above) he does.

Apart from that twenty out of the twenty-seven Persian and Arabic words with long vowels mentioned by Tekin would scan just as well if the vowels had been short: *din* (thrice), *tāj*, *kusūr*, *imtiḥān*, *tamām*, *arguvān*, *zaḡfarān*, *ṣaddād*, *ṣād*, and *muṣin* because the syllable is already closed; *ḥalāyīk*, *ṣariṣat* (twice), *valikin*, and *munāfiḳ* according to § 329 above; *jafā*, *vafā*, and *kisrā* according to § 327. "For the sake of further assurance [Talāt Tekin] then checked the scansion of secondary long vowels" and found that "all syllables having a secondary long vowel are scanned long". He then quotes four instances of *yiti*, seven instances of *kimi* and one instance of *könlümi*, *kopgumi* and *körkümi*. All these words end in two open syllables, and since the *motaqāreh* metre does not allow two short syllables to follow one another, one of them must be scanned long. E.g. *yiti* ∪ ∪ is not possible in the metre, so it must be either – ∪ or ∪ –. According to § 327 above "any word boundary may optionally count as a consonant", so that we can read *yiti*# ∪ – (Talāt Tekin's *yiti*), whereas there is no rule allowing us to scan the first syllable as long. That is to say, in words having the syllabic structure found in the examples quoted by Tekin the last syllable must be scanned long and therefore such words tell us nothing about the vowel quality. If we look at words with secondary long vowels having a different syllabic structure it is no longer true that "all syllables having a secondary long vowel are measured long". E.g. *ilig* "king" (< *illig*) may be scanned *ilig* as well as *ilig*, and *ilig* is the commoner of the two (see the example quoted at the beginning of this footnote). I therefore cannot agree with Talāt Tekin when he says, "there is no reason why we should not trust the poet in the scansion of Turkic words with primary long vowels". Talāt Tekin concludes his article with three lists of primary long vowels, namely: "Vowel lengths of the first syllable", "Long vowels of non-first syllables", and "Vowel lengths in suffixes". However, "long vowels of the first syllable do not form a complete system" and are scanned "both long and short on different occasions". Moreover the poet "is not very consistent in measuring non-first syllables of Turkic words". In other words *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* cannot be relied upon as far as vowel length in "first" and "non-first" syllables is concerned. When it comes to "Vowel length in suffixes", *Ḳutaḍḡu Bilig* is apparently consistent and reliable, but unfortunately the great majority of the long vowels discovered by Tekin occur in positions where short vowels must be scanned long according to § 329 above. The first two examples are *açımaz* and *açınu* where *ı* (belonging to a non-final open syllable following another open syllable in the same word) must scan long according to the said paragraph. The third example is *aşāsū*. Here again the second *a* must scan long according to § 329. The *u* may be scanned long or short according to § 327, but since ∪ – ∪ is not possible in the *motaqāreh* metre it must be long here. The same two rules can be applied to all the following examples and we have to pass through no fewer than 131 of Tekin's examples before we come to *suyurḡāḡu*, where the long *ā* cannot be explained by its position in the word. If we follow the scansion rules given in this chapter, we must scan either *suyurḡāḡu* ∪ – ∪ ∪ or *suyurḡāḡu*# ∪ – ∪ –, which means that the word cannot be employed in the *motaqāreh* metre. So Ulug Ḥaḍib, when necessary, cut a heel and clipped a toe, as we say in Denmark, in order to include such words. — These observations should not be taken as a criticism of the general usefulness of prosodic research, but consistency over the whole metrical system is necessary in order to ensure a scientific result].

THE ADAPTATION OF CLASSICAL PERSIAN PROSODY TO OTTOMAN TURKISH

§334 The following description of Ottoman Turkish prosody¹ is an exposition of the general principles².

From the point of view of prosody, the most striking characteristic of Ottoman poetry is that no uniform rules can be formulated for scanning. It is written in a hybrid language consisting of a native West-Turkish and an adventitious Persian³ element, which at times is close to ousting the former. The Persian element follows the rules of Classical Persian prosody completely. The native element follows other rules which are similar to, but not identical with the rules given for Karakhanidic in the previous chapter⁴.

§335 Now consider the following lines by باقی Bâkî.

ای یاسند را سله قید نام و شک	تا کی هوای سغله دهر باد شک
آن اول گویند که آخر اولوب نوبهار عمر	بر کفرانه دونه گرن روی لاله شک
آخر مطاعت اوله گرن جرعه گسی خاک	دوران الدن ایره گرن جام عیش شک
انسان اودر که آینه و شش قلبی صاف اوله	سنگده نبل آرام ای شک کینه بل شک

1 A recent work dealing with Ottoman Turkish prosody is Walter G. Andrews: *Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis and Chicago 1976). The chapter on prosody is an original and important contribution to Oriental scholarship. Cf. my forthcoming review in *Acta Orientalia*.

2 If a second edition of this work should be published, it will contain a complete description of Ottoman prosody.

3 The Persian element again can be said to consist of a native Persian and an adventitious Arabic element, but for our purpose this distinction is unnecessary.

4 In this respect Ottoman Turkish prosody is radically different from Urdu prosody. Urdu, too, is a hybrid language, but metrically the same rules apply to the native and foreign elements.

<i>ey pây</i> ⁵ -	<i>bend i dām</i> ⁵ -	<i>geh i: kayd ı</i>	<i>nām u neng</i>
<i>tā key he-</i>	<i>vā yi meşga-</i>	<i>le i: dehr i</i>	<i>bîdireng</i>
<i>a:ñ ol gü</i>	<i>nü: ki âhi-</i>	<i>r olup nevba-</i>	<i>hâr ı Sömr</i>
<i>berg i: ha-</i>	<i>zâna dönse</i>	<i>gerek rû yi</i>	<i>lâlereng</i>
<i>âhir me-</i>	<i>kaniñ olsa</i>	<i>gerek cürḡa</i>	<i>gi:bi hâk</i>
<i>devrân e-</i>	<i>linden erse</i>	<i>gerek câm ı</i>	<i>ḡayṣa seng</i>
<i>insân o-</i>	<i>dur ki âyi-</i>	<i>neveş kalbı</i>	<i>sâf ola</i>
<i>sineñde</i>	<i>n eyler</i> ⁵ <i>âde-</i>	<i>m iseñ kîne</i>	<i>i: peleng</i> ⁶
- - ∪	- ∪ - ∪	∪ - - ∪	- ∪ -

“O (thou who art) fettered in the world’s bondage of fame and glory! How long (this) lust for dealings with fleeting time (i.e. life in this transitory world)? Remember that day when life’s springtime is over and the tulip-coloured cheeks (lit. face) must turn into autumn’s leaf. Your last abode like (that of) the dregs⁷ must be the earth. A stone from fate’s hand must hit (and break) pleasure’s cup. A man is he, whose heart is clear like a mirror. What is panther’s passion doing in thy breast if thou art a man”? (Rhythm in §§237-238.)

The first *beyt* could have been taken from a Persian poem. A Persian would read it:

<i>ei pây</i> ⁵ -	<i>band e dām</i> ⁵ -	<i>gah ē qeid e</i>	<i>nām o nang</i>
<i>tā kei ha-</i>	<i>vā ye maşqa-</i>	<i>le yē dahr e</i>	<i>bîderang</i>

In the remainder of the passage Turkish elements occur, but Persian elements are more frequent. Everywhere, the Persian element can be scanned according to the rules of Persian prosody.

§ 336 Note that the Persian *ezāfe* (Turkish *izâfet*) and the Persian conjunction *o* (see Chapter VII) are in Turkish subject to vowel harmony: *ezāfe* is realized as *i* and *ı* (and in Modern Turkish also *ü* and *u*). Persian *o* “and”

5 For *ne eyler*. The reduction of *ne* to *n* is not restricted to poetry. On the contrary, though not allowed in standard prose it is very common in the spoken language: *napalım?* *nolacak?* etc. See G.L. Lewis: *Turkish Grammar* (Oxford 1975) p. 74. Cf. also §§ 79-81 above.

6 My transcription is based on Modern Turkish orthography and follows as closely as possible Ferit Devellioğlu: *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Ankara 1962). I distinguish between ∪ *n* and ى *ñ*. Metrically shortened long vowels are shown with ˘ (*ā*, *ū*). Metrically lengthened short vowels are shown with : (*i:*, *ü:*, *a:*).

7 The dregs are namely thrown on the ground.

becomes *ü* and *u*. After long vowels they are both pronounced with glide consonants and without vowel harmony, *yi* and *vü* respectively. (Cf. § 54 footnote 6, and § 55).

§ 337 The passage quoted in § 335 contains the following native Turkish element:

<i>a:ñ ol gü-</i>	<i>nü:</i>	<i>olup</i>	
	<i>-a dönse</i>	<i>gerek</i>	
	<i>-iñ olsa</i>	<i>gerek</i>	<i>gi:bi</i>
<i>e-</i>	<i>linden erse</i>	<i>gerek</i>	<i>-a</i>
<i>o-</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ola</i>
<i>-ñde</i>	<i>n eyler</i>	<i>iseñ</i>	
— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —

Here, as in Karakhanidic, the rhythmical effect is brought about by the opposition of open and closed syllables, e.g. *o-lup* —, *ge-rek* —, *e-lin-de-ner-se* — — —. There are three cases where open syllables must be scanned long: *a:ñ ol* (or *añ `ol*) — — (instead of *añ ol* —), *günü:* and *gi:bi*. The three short vowels *a*, *ü* and *i* have been metrically lengthened to *a:*, *ü:* and *i:*. The metrical lengthening of a vowel is termed *imâle* “inclination (towards length)”⁸.

§ 338 As a rule, the Persian element occupies the major part of an Ottoman poem. In the following example less than one third is Turkish:

هکمت گراو علم اب که احکام فلک	اندیشه و عقل بشری با خبر ابر
دوستمزد دل و طبع اهل بواندیشه زیر	نرسش دل و طبعی بود رخی بترابر
<i>hikmet ge-</i> <i>endîşe</i> <i>düşmez di-</i> <i>teşviş i</i>	<i>r⁹ o ğilm i:se</i> <i>ü ğakl ı: be-</i> <i>l ü tab ğ ehli</i> <i>dil ü: tab ğı</i>

⁸ The term *emâle* in Persian has a quite different meaning. See §§ 145 and 146.

⁹ Cf. § 120.

¹⁰ Cf. § 111.

Turkish:

	<i>o</i>	<i>i:se</i>		<i>-ten</i>
				<i>eyler</i>
<i>düşmez</i>		<i>-i</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>-ye</i>
		<i>-t</i>	<i>bu da:hi:</i>	<i>eyler -</i>
---	---	---	---	---

"If philosophy be that science which makes human mind and reason acquainted with the decrees of Heaven (i.e. future events), the wise (lit. possessor of heart and character) will not take to such speculation (lit. this thought). For this (lore) makes the confusion of heart and mind more confounded still".

نفعی Neffî

(Rhythm in §§ 220-222.)

Here we have three instances of *imâle* (*i:se*, *da:hi:*).

§ 339 Of course, it is possible to find poems with a larger native element. More than half is Turkish in the following lines from the ode in praise of the boys of Adrianople by مسیحی Mesîhî.

گو ظلر ایدر هر گجه مهما	برسی در خلیل او آفت جان
کاز شخص گلشن اولدی آتش	نیمه ایشش بوزنده زلف سرکش

<i>biri:si:dir</i>	<i>halîl o: â-</i>	<i>fet i: cân</i>
<i>gönüller `e:-</i>	<i>dinir¹¹ her ge:-</i>	<i>ce mihmân</i>
<i>ne sihr etmiş</i>	<i>yüzünde: zül-</i>	<i>f i serkeş</i>
<i>ki a:ña: sah-</i>	<i>n ı gülşen `ol-</i>	<i>du¹¹ âteş</i>

Turkish:

<i>biri:si:dir</i>	<i>o:</i>		
<i>gönüller `e:-</i>	<i>dinir</i>	<i>ge:-</i>	<i>ce</i>
<i>ne</i>	<i>etmiş</i>	<i>yüzünde:</i>	
<i>a:ña:</i>	<i>`ol-</i>	<i>du</i>	
---	---	---	

¹¹ I have scanned with *hamze* (Turkish *hemze*) according to § 45. It is also possible, but (to my ear) less natural to read *gönülle:r e:dinir* with *imâle*, but since *gülşen* is Persian it is not possible to read **gülşe:n* with *imâle*.

“(And another) one of them is Halîl, that calamity of the soul¹². Of hearts he makes guests every night. What magic have his rebellious locks wrought upon his face, so that for him the fire has become a bed of roses¹³”!
(Rhythm in §§ 194-196.)

Here we have no fewer than eight instances of *imâle*: More than half of the open syllables in the Turkish portion are subject to *imâle*, and exactly half of the metrically long syllables in the Turkish portion are made long by *imâle*. In native Turkish words, theoretically, all vowels in open syllables may be metrically lengthened, but in practice it is hardly possible to have a higher proportion of *imâle* than in the above example. (In a line with only Turkish words and no closed syllables, there would be nothing to show the rhythm.) In spite of the high proportion of *imâle*, we cannot consider lines such as the above a relapse into syllabic poetry. If that had been the case, we should have expected to find now and then closed syllables where the metre requires short syllables, and that is never the case.

§ 340 There is not and probably never was anything in the pronunciation of Anatolian Turkish to justify *imâle*. It can only be considered an emergency measure, and for once it is appropriate to talk of *vôcālēs prōductae metris causâ*. So, naturally, one of the hallmarks of “fluency”—*ravānī*¹⁴ the Persians

12 I.e. who by his beauty destroys one's peace of mind. This expression was so common that in Modern Turkish *âfet* alone has come to mean “person of bewitching beauty” (*güzelliği ile insanı şaşkına çeviren Türkçe Sözlük*).

13 The boy's name immediately makes the reader think of Abraham, called *Halîl ü'r Rahmân* “Familiar of (God) the Merciful” (خليل الرحمن). Abraham is said to have been so hospitable that he would not spend a night without having entertained some guest, just as the boy makes hearts his guests every night. When king Nimrod wanted to have Abraham thrown on the fire, it was miraculously changed into a bed of roses. For little Halîl, too, the fire has been changed into a bed of roses. This I take to mean that the boy, who must have been rather naughty, used to cause anger, but by his charming looks and locks changed the fire of wrath into roses of favour. Gibb (II p. 253) has a neat translation of this verse: “And one Khalîl, that torment of the spright,/ He taketh hearts to be his guests each night./ Upon his face what spell has cast his hair,/ That thereunto the fire is garden fair?”

14 See § 50. In Ottoman Turkish *revân* does occur in the sense of “fluent”, but it is not common, and Ottoman and Modern Turkish *revânî* (from Persian روغنی *rouqanî*) is a kind of sweet, (a light cake, made of fine wheat grit (*irmuk*), eggs, etc. and soaked in sugar water). So I prefer not to use the terms *revân* and *revânî* here.

would call it—is the relative scarcity of *imâle*, and exactly this scarcity or even absence of *imâle* is a most conspicuous quality of great formal masters like Bâkî¹⁵ and نديم Nedîm.

§ 341 After Bâkî (d. 1600) the Ottoman poets tried to resort as little as possible to *imâle*. The easiest way of escaping *imâle* was to use as few native Turkish words as possible, and much “Turkish” poetry has been written which is really Persian except for some Turkish case endings and an occasional form of “to be” or “to do”. But the real master craftsman of Ottoman Turkish poetry was he who could use native Turkish words freely and keep *imâle* under control.

In the following lines by Nedîm more than half is Turkish and all the same there is not a single instance of *imâle*.

دیه دن طرنه دک گل گبی بلور گبی
گوزلرک بزم ازلدن بری محمور گبی

jism i pâkîñ
depeden tır-
nigehiñ böy-
gözleriñ bez-

dediler hem
nağa dek gül
le neden has-
m i ezelden

جسم پاک دیر هم ز ایش هم را
نگرک بویله دن خسته دای شرف

ter imiş hem
gibi billû-
tadır ey şû-
beri mahmû-

berrâk
r° gibi
h° seniñ
r° gibi

Turkish:

-iñ
depeden tır-
-iñ böy-
gözleriñ
— — —

dediler
nağa dek
le neden
-den
— — —

emiş
gibi
-dır
beri
— — —

gibi
seniñ
gibi
— — —

“Your flawless (lit. pure) body, they say, is both fresh and sparkling. (Yea,) from top to toe (lit. nail) (it is fresh) like a rose (and sparkling) like crystal. O (my) mischievous (friend), why are your eyes so languorous? It seems your eyes have been drunk since the Feast of Eternity¹⁶”.

(Rhythm in §§211-212.)

15 In the lines by Bâkî quoted in § 335 there is less than one *imâle* to the *beyt*.

16 The Feast of Eternity is a mystical image. To the discerning eye of the mystic, the world is God's eternal Feast of Love. In a letter Dr. A. Schimmel suggests that *bezm i ezel* alludes to *yevm i elest* (يوم الست: the beginning of creation, cf. *qor'ân* VII, 172).

§ 342 In the example above the native Turkish element amounts to 33 out of 60 possible syllables, but there are several of the Persian words, too, which have been completely naturalized in Turkish, thus *hem*, *göl*, and *hasta*. When separating the native Turkish element in Ottoman poetry from the Persian one, it must always be borne in mind, that a varying portion of the Persian element was not at all felt by the Turks to be foreign.

We have no certain criteria for deciding exactly when a loanword is completely naturalized, and one would always have the doubt whether a word which is naturalized now was already naturalized when the poem in question was written. A good reason for not trying to include naturalized words in the Turkish element, is the fact that, in poetry, even completely naturalized words were still pronounced and scanned according to foreign rules.

§ 343 One should expect the most thoroughly acclimatized and most commonly used Persian words in Turkish to be occasionally pronounced and scanned like native Turkish words, and it does indeed happen¹⁷. Fastidious poets like Bâkî and Nedîm carefully eschew treating even the commonest Persian loanword as Turkish, but other poets—and not the least interesting ones—do occasionally ignore the foreign origin of such words.

In the following two examples by غالب دده Gâlib Dede the words وقت and مادام, must be scanned according to their ordinary Turkish pronunciation, *vakit* and *mâdem* instead of the proper Persian¹⁸ *vakt* and *mâdâm*.

مہد اچرہ او بوکہ ای سمنبر فالمز بوشده چرفجمنبر
برمال ایلہ گردش ایتراختہ سیرایت شط آزدقندہ نلر
سیر غر آسباب اولورس

mehd içre
kalmaz bu
bir hâl i-

uyu: ki ey
revişte çar-
le gerdiş et-

semenber
h ı çenber
mez ahter

17 Cf. what was said about Persian loanwords in Urdu poetry in §§ 279-284 (especially 284) and 311.

18 I.e. according to the traditional Turkish pronunciation of Persian poetry. Incidentally both the "Persian" words are Arabic. I call them Persian according to § 334 footnote 3.

<i>seyretse-</i>	<i>ñe az vakit-</i>	<i>te n eyler</i>
<i>seyl i: ga-</i>	<i>ma âsiyâ-</i>	<i>b olursun</i>
— — —	— — —	— — —

“Sleep in (your) cradle, for, O darling, the wheel of fate will not remain in this wise. The stars will not (always) turn in one way. Just look (and see) what they will do in a short time. You will become a millstone for the torrent of grief”.

(Rhythm in §§252-253.)

بونده مادام عاشقان ابرسماع ماه ومهر وآسمان ابرسماع

<i>bunda mâdem</i>	<i>şâşıkân ey-</i>	<i>ler semâ</i>
<i>mâh u mihr ü:</i>	<i>âs'mân ey-</i>	<i>ler semâ</i>
— — —	— — —	— — —

“While the Lovers (i.e. Whirling Dervishes) here are doing (their) circular dance, moon and sun and sky do (their) circular dance”.

(Rhythm in §§201-203.)

§ 344 In § 332 we saw that overlong syllables are not distinguished in Karakhanidic Turkish prosody. In Ottoman Turkish prosody on the contrary overlong syllables are prosodically significant both in the Persian and in the native Turkish portions¹⁹. However, I suspect that this metrical significance of the overlong syllables was artificial. One does now and then come across metrically disregarded overlong syllables.

سرب دنیا دین و را ایدر سز خانه دینی فرعون یادی نه شد از بنای بی شکل با
بالی باشد فوقادیر فساد کجانی معلوم نه قادر که بر نقطه دید لهذا کتاب الله

<i>yapıp dünyâ</i>	<i>evin vîrâ-</i>	<i>n edersiz hâ-</i>	<i>ne i: dîni</i>
<i>ne fir²⁰av yap-</i>	<i>tı ne: şeddâd²¹</i>	<i>binâ etti:</i>	<i>bu şek¹²¹ billâh</i>
<i>balık baştan</i>	<i>kokar derler</i>	<i>fesâdın ba:-</i>	<i>şı ma²¹lûmdur²¹</i>
<i>ne kâdir kim-</i>	<i>se bir nokta:</i>	<i>diye:²² hâzâ</i>	<i>kitâbullâh</i>
— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —

19 Cf. Chapter V above.

20 Against § 88.

21 Against § 36. (In Modern Turkish original long vowels in loanwords are often retained in open syllables, but shortened in closed syllables. Cf. G.L. Lewis, op. cit. p. 14.)

22 Optative.

“Building up the house of the world, you lay waste the house of the faith. By God, in this way neither Pharaoh did make (his pyramid) nor Şeddâd construct (his palace and garden of İrem²³). ‘The fish (begins to) stink at the head (i.e. corruption starts at the top)’, they say. The ‘head’ of (our) corruption is (well) known. Not (as far as) one iota can one say: ‘This (state of affairs agrees with) the Book of God’ ”. اوبسی Üveysî
(Rhythm in §§ 191-193.)

EXERCISE: Before taking leave of those readers who have had the patience to follow me thus far, I want to repeat and expand the advice given in § 172: Henceforth never read a line of Oriental poetry without ascertaining its rhythm. A correct knowledge of prosody is an important tool for deciding the correct reading and interpretation of texts written in the defective Arabic alphabet, a tool which no earnest student of Oriental lore can afford to ignore. As an exercise try to scan the following lines by سليمان دده Süleymân Dede:

واجب اول در جمله ایستد هر فو	الله آدین ذکر ایده لم اول
هر ایسی آسان ایده الله اگا	الله آدین هر کیم اول اول اگا
هرگز ایستد اولیه آتک صوتی	الله آدی اولد هر ایستک اوکی
الله آدیده اولور هر ایستد تمام	هر نفسده الله آدین ده تمام

“God’s name let us mention first. Incumbent is that in every work upon every slave (of God, i.e. created being). God’s name: whoever mentions that first, his every work will God make light for him. God’s name let be the start of every work so that vain may never be its end. With every breath God’s name say complete. (Then) by God’s name shall (your) every work become complete”.

تمت

23 The Persian forms are *şaddād* and *eram*.

[illegible]

REFERENCE LIST OF METRES

The following is a complete list of all Classical Persian metres (and permitted variations) that I know of¹, arranged in the quasi-alphabetical order described in § 189. The basic rhythms are numbered and the permitted variations unnumbered. The *robāʿī* rhythms are marked off with 'R', cf. § 255. After each rhythm its traditional designation has been given with the terms indicating overlong finals added in brackets², cf. § 42 (but see remark on no. 7 below). This is followed by references to the relevant paragraphs in Part Two and/or additional references to literature and to Elwell-Sutton. Finally Elwell-Sutton's code-number has been given (bracketed when his classification seems artificial) cf. §§ 165, 186 and 245. In case of permitted variations the reader is referred to the serial number of the corresponding basic rhythm³.

Doubling is only indicated when the form of a particular permitted variation depends upon it.

In Appendix One the following abbreviations are used:

<i>al.</i>	<i>aslam</i> (e) اثلیم	<i>mh.</i>	<i>mahzūf</i>	<i>mx.</i>	<i>maxbūn</i> (e)
<i>as.</i>	<i>aslam</i> (e) اصلیم	<i>mn.</i>	<i>mosamman</i> (e)	<i>p.v.</i>	permitted variation (of)
<i>b.</i>	<i>bahr</i> (e)	<i>mq.</i>	<i>maqsūr</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>ramal</i> (e)
<i>h.</i>	<i>hazaj</i> (e)	<i>ms.</i>	<i>mosaddas</i> (e)	<i>s.</i>	<i>sariʿ</i> (e)
<i>m.</i>	<i>mojtass</i> (e)	<i>mt.</i>	<i>matvī</i> (ye)	<i>x.</i>	<i>xafīf</i> (e)

ES stands for Elwell-Sutton. References to literature as explained in § 175.

The traditional designations given are everywhere those which would be used to describe a single *mesrāʿ*. In case of complete rhythmical identity of the two halves, a *beit* is named exactly as a single *mesrāʿ* except that

1 The irregular variations of *bahr e rajaz* found in M 262 are not included in the list, nor is M 2121 which is really a syllabic rhythm. (In both cases we have to do with Greek *molammaʿāt*).

2 The sign / before the term indicates that it should be substituted for the preceding term.

3 Permitted variations are not given for rhythms not known to occur outside the handbooks of prosody.

the terms *sadr*, *hašv* and *zarb*, if occurring, must be changed to *sadrein*, *hašavein* and *zarbein* respectively. If there is not complete identity, i.e. if various permitted variations occur, the designation of the complete *beit* is obtained by combining the terms *ebtedāʿ*, *sadr*, *ṣarūz*, *zarb*, *va*, *ou* etc. with the terms used to designate each single *mesrāʿ*. Cf. §§42, 177, 185, 223 and 242.

- 1 ◡◡ – ◡◡ – ◡◡ – ◡◡ – *b. motadārek e mn. mx. (mozāl مزال)*. §172.
M 2254. (3.1.3(4)).
◡◡ – ◡◡ – ◡◡ – – – *b. motadārek e mn. mx maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*,
p.v. 1.
◡◡ – ◡◡ – – – ◡◡ – *b. motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va*
maqtūʿ ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1.
◡◡ – ◡◡ – – – – – *b. motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va*
maqtūʿ ol-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1.
- 2 ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡◡ – ◡ – *b. kāmel e morabbaʿ مربع e sālem (e mosbaq)*.
M 238. (5.3.5(2)).
- 3 ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡◡ – ◡ – *b. kāmel e mn. sālem (e mosbaq)*.
§§ 261-262. (5.3.5(4)).
- 4 ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – *b. r. mn. maškūl va sālem e mh. (/mq.)*.
ES 111. 5.3.15.
- 5 ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – *b. r. mn. maškūl va sālem (e mosbaq)*.
§§ 248-249. 5.3.16.
- 6 ◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – ◡◡ – ◡ – – – *b. r. mn. maškūl os-sadr va sālem va maškūl*
ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el mosbaq). ES 111. 5.3.14.
◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – – – ◡ – ◡ – *b. r. mn. maškūl os-sadr va sālem va mošaʿṣas*
e makfūf ol-hašv va mh. oz-zarb (/mq. oz-zarb), p.v. 4.
◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – – – ◡ – ◡ – – – *b. r. mn. maškūl os-sadr va sālem va*
mošaʿṣas e makfūf ol-hašv va sālem oz-zarb (/mosbaq oz-zarb),
p.v. 5.
◡◡ – ◡ – ◡ – – – – – ◡ – – – *b. r. mn. maškūl os-sadr va sālem va mošaʿṣas*
e makfūf ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 6.
- 7 ◡◡ – ◡ – – – ◡◡ – ◡ – – – *b. kāmel e morabbaʿ e moraffal*. M. 963, 3111-
3113. (5.3.6(2)). There are no permitted variations of this metre.
The term *moraffal* مرفل indicates the addition of a final long
syllable to the basic foot. The corresponding overlong foot is
termed *motavval* مطول. It is extremely rare and has therefore
in most cases not been given.

- 8 $\cup\cup-\cup-|- \cup-\cup-$ Irregular variation of 2. (Against § 152.)
 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-$ *b. madīd e mn. mx. (mozāl).* ES 97.
 3.1.07 (2).
 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup- \cup\cup-- --$ *b. madīd e mn. mx. maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- 9 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-\cup -\cup--$ *b. r. ms. mx. os-sadr va maškūl ol-hašv va sālem oz-zarb (el-mosbaq).* ES 111. (5.3.03/09.)
- 10 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup--$ *b. r. morabbaʿ e mx. (mosbaq).* ES 96. 3.1.08.
- 11 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-$ *b. r. ms. mx. mh. (/mq.).* §§ 213-214. 3.1.11.
- 12 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup--$ *b. r. ms. mx. (mosbaq).* ES 96. 3.1.12.
- 13 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-$ *b. r. mn. mx. mh. (/mq.).* §§ 211-212.
 3.1.15.
- 14 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup--$ *b. r. mn. mx. (mosbaq).* § 210. 3.1.16.
 In M 94 this rhythm occurs as an irregular variation of 54.
- 15 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup-$ *b. r. mn. mx. marbūʿ مربع (e mosbaq).*
 ES 97. 3.1.14.
- 16 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- -$ *b. r. mn. mx. majhūf محوف (e mosbaq).*
 GI 185, ES 97. 3.1.13.
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- --$ *b. r. mn. mx. as. (e mosbaq), p.v. 13.*
 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- ---$ *b. r. mn. mx. mošaʿʿas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- 17 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup-\cup-$ *b. jadīd e ms. mx. (mozāl).* § 244. ES 104-105.
 (4.5.04/08).
- 18 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup-\cup- \cup\cup-$ *b. jadīd e mn. mx. mh. (/mq.).* ES 105.
 (4.5.04/11).
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup-\cup- --$ *b. jadīd e mn. mx. as. (e mosbaq), p.v. 18.*
 $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-|- \cup-- \cup\cup-$ *b. madīd e mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- \cup-- \cup\cup--$ In M 94 this rhythm occurs as an irregular variation of 54.
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-|- \cup-- --$ *b. madīd e mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup--|- \cup-- \cup\cup--$ *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup--|- \cup-- ---$ *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va mošaʿʿas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- $\cup\cup-- \cup\cup-- --$ *b. r. ms. mx. as. (e mosbaq), p.v. 11.*

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- *b. r. ms. mx. mošaḡḡas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq),*
p.v. 12.

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- ∪∪- *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas*
ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el-mh. (/el mq.), p.v. 13.

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- ∪∪-- *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mx.*
va mošaḡḡas ol-hašv, (b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas
ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- - *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas*
ol-hašv va majhūf oz-zarb (el mosbaq), p.v. 16.

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- -- *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas*
ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 13.

∪∪-- ∪∪-- --- --- *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas*
ol-hašv va mošaḡḡas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.

19 ∪∪-- ∪-∪- *b. x. morabbaḡ e mx. (mozāl). ES 104. 4.5.08.*

20 ∪∪-- ∪-∪- ∪∪- *b. x. ms. mx. mh. (/mq.). §§ 230-232. 4.5.11.*

21 ∪∪-- ∪-∪- ∪∪-- *b. x. ms. mx. (mozāl). ES 104. 4.5.12.*

22 ∪∪-- ∪-∪- ∪∪-- ∪-∪- *b. x. mn. mx. (mozāl). M 243-244,*
965, 1176, 2098, 2255-2259, 3139-3140, 3203; ES 105. 4.5.16.

23 ∪∪-- ∪-∪- - *b. x. ms. mx. majhūf (e mosbaq). ES 104. 4.5.09.*

∪∪-- ∪-∪- -- *b.x. ms. mx. as. (mosbaq),* p.v. 20.

∪∪-- ∪-∪- --- *b. x. ms. mx. mošaḡḡas oz-zarb (el mosbaq),*
p.v. 21.

∪∪-- ∪-∪- --- ∪-∪- *b. x. mn. mx. os-sadr va mx. va mošaḡḡas*
ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 22.

∪∪- -- ∪∪- ∪∪- *b. motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūḡ va*
mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1.

∪∪- -- ∪∪- -- *b. motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūḡ va mx.*
ol-hašv va maqtūḡ oz-zarb (el mozāl), p.v. 1.

∪∪-- -- ∪∪-- ∪∪- *b. madīd e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūḡ va*
mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.

∪∪-- -- ∪∪-- -- *b. madīd e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūḡ va mx.*
ol-hašv va maqtūḡ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.

∪∪-- --- ∪∪- *b.r. ms. mx. os-sadr va mošaḡḡas ol-hašv va mh.*
(/mq.) oz-zarb el-mx., p.v. 11. Or (∪∪- -- -- ∪∪-) *b.*
motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va maqtūḡ ol-
hašv, p.v. 1.

∪∪-- --- ∪∪-- *b. r. ms. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mošaḡḡas*

- ol-hašv*, (*b. r. ms. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el-mozāl*), p.v. 12.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡◡— — ◡◡— *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va mh. (/mq.) oz-zarb*, p.v. 13.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡◡— — ◡◡— — *b.r. mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv*, (*b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el mozāl*), p.v. 14.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡◡— — — *b. r. mn. mx. oš-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va majhūf oz-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, p.v. 16.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡◡— — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, pv. 13.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡◡— — — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, p.v. 14.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡—◡— *b. jadid e ms. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv*, (*b. jadid e ms. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el-mozāl*), p.v. 17.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡—◡— ◡◡— *b. jadid e mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb el-mh. (/el-mq.) va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv*, p.v. 18.
- ◡◡— — — — ◡—◡— — — *b. jadid e mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va (/el-mq.) va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv*, p.v. 18.
- ◡◡— — — — | —◡— — ◡◡— *b. madid e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūʕ va sālem ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- ◡◡— — — — | —◡— — — — *b. madid e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūʕ va sālem ol-hašv va maqtūʕ oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- ◡◡— — — — | —◡— — ◡◡— — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mošaʕʕas va sālem ol-hašv*, (*b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va sālem ol-hašv va maxbūn oz-zarb el mosbaq*), p.v. 14.
- ◡◡— — — — | —◡— — — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va sālem ol-hašv va mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, p.v. 14.
- ◡◡— — — — — — *b. r. ms. mx. va mošaʕʕas va as. (mosbaq)*, p.v. 11.
Or (◡◡— — — — —) *b. motadārek e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūʕ ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, p.v. 1.
- ◡◡— — — — — — *b. r. ms. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq)*, p.v. 12.
- ◡◡— — — — — — ◡◡— *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va mh. (/mq.) oz-zarb*, p.v. 13.
- ◡◡— — — — — — ◡◡— — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv*, p.v. 14.

- ◡ ◡ — — — — — — — — — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va majhūf oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 16.*
- ◡ ◡ — — — — — — — — — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 13.*
- ◡ ◡ — — — — — — — — — — *b. r. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- 24 ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — *b. vāfer e mn. sālem. M 2267. (4.3.5(4)). There are no permitted variations of this metre. Cf. § 261*
- 25 ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — *b. m. mn. maškūl va sālem (/mosbaq). ES 117. (12.4.08(2)).*
- 26 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — *b. m. morabbaʕ e mx (e mozāl). ES 101. 4.1.08.*
- 27 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — *b. m. ms. mx. (mozāl). ES 101. 4.1.12.*
- 28 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — *b. m. mn. mx. mh. (/mq.). §§ 228-229. 4.1.15.*
- 29 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — *b. m. mn. mx. (mozāl). § 227. 4.1.16.*
- 30 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — *b. m. mn. mx. majhūf (e mosbaq). ES 101-102. 4.1.13.*
- ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — — *b. m. mn. mx. as. (mosbaq), p.v. 28.*
- ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — — — *b. m. mn. mx. mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 29.*
- 31 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — — *b. m. ms. mx. makbūl مكبول (e mozāl). ES 101. 4.1.11.*
- 32 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — *b. qarīb e ms. maqbūz os-sadr va-l-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl). ES 101. (4.1.04/08).*
- 33 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — *b. h. ms. maqbūz (e mozāl) or b. rajaz e ms. mx. (mozāl). GIII 347, ES 114. 6.1.12.*
- 34 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — *b. h. mn. maqbuz (e mozāl) or b. rajaz e mn. mx. (mozāl). ES 114. 6.1.16.*
- 35 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — *b. s. ms. mx. os-sadr va-l-hašv va mt. oz-zarb el-maksūf (el-mouqūf موقوف). ES 113. (5.6.04/07).*
- 36 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — *b. monsareh e ms. mx. (mozāl). ES 112. 5.4.12.*
- 37 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mx. maksūf (/mouquf). ES 112. 5.4.15.*
- 38 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — *b. h. mn. maqbūz os sadr va makfūf va maqbūz ol-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb. ES 112. 5.4.16.*
- 39 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — *b. monsareh e mn. mx. manhūr (majdūʕ مجدوع). ES 112. 5.4.13.*

- 40 ♀-♀- ♀-♂ ♀-♀- ♀-♂- *b. h. mn. maqbūz va mh. (/mq.).* M 1889, ES 112. (5.4.07(2)).
- 41 ♀-♀- ♀-♂- ♀-♀- ♀-♂- *b. h. mn. maqbūz va sālem (/mosbaq).* ES 112. (5.4.08(2)).
- 42 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♀-♀- *b. rajaz e ms. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. ol-hašv.* ES 113. 5.6.12.
- 43 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. rajaz e mn. mx. va mt. (mozāl).* ES 114. 5.6.16.
 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. rajaz e mn. mx. os-sadr va mt. va mx. ol-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb (el-mozāl),* p.v. 43.
- 44 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. m. morabbaš e mx. va mh. (/mq.).* ES 113. 5.6.07.
- 45 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. m. mn. mx. va mh. (/mq.).* ES 113-114. (5.6.07(2)). Or *b. monsareh e mn. mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf).* (or *b. basit e mn. mx. va sālem (/mozāl)*), p.v. 113.
- 46 ♀-♀-♂ ♀-♀-♂ *b. rajaz e morabbaš e mx. moraffal.* ES 101. (4.1.05(2)).
- 47 ♀-♀-♂ ♀-♀-♂ ♀-♀-♂ ♀-♀-♂ *b. rajaz e mn. mx. moraffal.* GIII 130, ES 102. (4.1.05(4)).
- 48 ♀-♀- ♂-♂-♂ ♂-♂- *b. monsareh e ms. mx. os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb (el-mozāl).* ES 115. (7.1.11).
 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- *b. monsareh e mn. mx. os-sadr va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) va mt. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb el-maksūf (/mouqūf)* (or *b. basit e mn. mx. va sālem (/mozāl) va mt. va sālem (/mozāl)*), p.v. 113.
- 49 ♀-♀- ♂-♂-♂ ♀-♀- *b. mozāreš e ms. maqbūz os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl).* ES 116. (9.7.12).
- 50 ♀-♀- ♂-♂-♂ ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. mozāreš e mn. maqbūz va sālem (/mosbaq).* ES 116. (9.7.16).
 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- *b. monsareh e mn. mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) va maqtūš va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf)* (or *b. basit e mx. va sālem (/mozāl) va maqtūš va sālem (/mozāl)*), p.v. 113.
- 51 ♀-♀- ♂-♂-♂ ♀-♀- ♂-♂- *b. rajaz e mn. mx. va sālem (/mosbaq).* ES 115. 8.1.08(2).
 ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- ♀-♀- ♂-♂- ♂-♂- *b. rajaz e esnā šašara roknan be-xabn el-avval va-r-rābeš بحر رجز اثنا عشر ركنا بخبن الاول و الرابع,* irregular variation of 207.
 ♀-♀- ♂-♂-♂ ♀-♀- *b. m. ms. mx. va mošašas va mx. (mozāl),* p.v. 27.

- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — *b. m. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb el-mh. (/el-mq.), p.v. 28.*
- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — *b. m. mn. mx. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mošaʕʕas va mx. oz-zarb, p.v. 29.*
- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — — *b. m. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va majhūf oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 30.*
- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — *b. rajaz e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūʕ va mx. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 43.*
- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — — *b. m. mn. mx. os-sadr va mošaʕʕas va mx. ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 28.*
- ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — ◡ — — — *b. m. mn. mx. va mošaʕʕas (e mosbaq), p.v. 29. M 3047 is written exclusively in this rhythm. It may also be interpreted as b. rajaz e mn. mx. va maqtuʕ (e mozāl), p.v. 43.*
- 52 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — *b. h. morabbaʕ e makfūf e mh. (/mq.). ES 97. 3.2.07.*
- 53 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — *b. h. ms. makfūf e mh. (/mq.). ES 97. 3.2.11.*
- 54 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — *b. h. mn. makfūf e mh. (/mq.). M 94, 637-638, 1473, ES 98. 3.2.15.*
- ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — — — *b. h. mn. makfūf os-sadr va makfūf va sālem ol-hašv va ahazz اَحَزْ oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 54.*
- 55 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — *b. qarib e ms. makfūf e mh. (/mq.). GI 2, 52, ES 105. (4.6.03/08). This rhythm has an irregular variation see 170, cf. § 158.*
- 56 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — *b. qarib e ms. makfūf os-sadr va-l-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb. ES 106. (4.6.03/09).*
- 57 ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — *b. h. mn. makfūf va mh. (/mq.). M 92-93, 95, 329, 636, 1034, 1472-1476, 1887-1888, ES 97-98. 3.2.07(2).*
- ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — — — *b. h. mn. makfūf va mh. va sālem va ahazz (e mosbaq), p.v. 57.*
- ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — — — — ◡ ◡ — — *b. h. mn. makfūf va sālem va axrab va mh. (/mq.), p.v. 54.*
- ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — — — — — — *b. h. mn. makfūf va sālem va moxannaq va ahazz (e mosbaq), p.v. 54.*
- 58 ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — *b. moqtazab e mn. mx. va mt. (mozāl). ES 117. (12.1.16).*
- 59 ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — *b. moqtazab e mn. mx. va mt. moraffal. ES 117. (12.1.09(2)).*

- ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - - - *b. moqtazab e mn mx. os-sadr va
 mt. moraffal va mx. ol-hašv va maqtu^ç oz-zarb el-moraffal*, p.v. 59.
- 60 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e morabba^ç e makfūf e mh. (/mq.)*. ES 105. 4.6.07.
- 61 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - ♀ ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e ms. makfūf e majbūb (/ahtam)*. ES 105. 4.6.10.
- 62 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - ♀ ♀ - - *b. mozāre^ç e ms. makfūf e mh. (mq.)*. ES 105. 4.6.11.
- 63 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - ♀ ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e mn. makfūf e mh. (/mq.)*. ES 106. 4.6.15.
- 64 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e ms. makfūf e abtar (/azall)*. ES 105. 4.6.09.
- 65 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e mn. makfūf va mh. (/mq.)*. ES 106. 4.6.07(2).
- 66 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e ms. makfūf va sālem va majbūb (/ahtam)*. ES 90, 116. (9.4.10).
- 67 ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - *b. mozāre^ç e mn. makfūf va sālem (/mosbaq)*. ES 106. (9.4.16).
- ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - - *b. mozāre^ç e ms. makfūf va sālem va abtar (/azall)*, p.v. 61.
- ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - - - ♀ - ♀ - *b. mozāre^ç e mn. makfūf va sālem va axrab va mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 63.
- 68 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - *b. motaqāreb e ms. mh. (/mq.)*. ES 89. 1.1.08.
- 69 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - *b. motaqāreb e mn. sālem os-sadr va sālem va maqbūz ol-hašv va abtar (/azall) oz-zarb*. ES 115 (9.1.10).
- 70 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - *b. motaqāreb e mn. sālem os-sadr va sālem va maqbūz ol-hašv va al. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq)*. ES 115. (9.1.11).
- 71 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - *b. moqtazab e mn. mx. va sālem (/mosbaq)*. ES 90. (1.1.08(2)).
- 72 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - *b. motaqāreb e ms. sālem (e mosbaq)*. ES 89. 1.1.09.
- 73 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - *b. motaqāreb e mn. mh. (/mq.)*. §§ 178-183. 1.1.11.
- 74 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - *b. motaqāreb e mn. sālem (e mosbaq)*. §§ 173-174, 177. 1.1.12.
- 75 ♀ - - ♀ - - ♀ - - - *b. motaqāreb e mn. abtar (/azall)*. ES 90. 1.1.10.
- 76 ♀ - - ♀ - - - ♀ - - ♀ - - - *b. tavil e mn. sālem (e mosbaq)*. ES 90. (1.1.07(2)).

- ∪---∪ --- ∪---∪ -∪∪--- *b. moqtazab e mn. mx. os-sadr va maqtūṣ e moraffal va mx. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb el-moraffal, p.v. 59.*
- ∪---∪ --- ∪---∪ --- *b. moqtazab e mn. mx. va maqtūṣ e moraffal, p.v. 59.*
- 77 ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. morabbaṣ e mh. (/mq.). ES 92. 2.1.07.*
- 78 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. mn. sālem va mh. (/mq.). ES 92. (2.1.07(2)).*
- 79 ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. morabbaṣ e sālem (e mosbaq). ES 92. 2.1.08.*
- 80 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. ms. mh. (/mq.). §§ 194-196. 2.1.11.*
- 81 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. ms. sālem (e mosbaq). ES 92. 2.1.12.*
- 82 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. mn. majbūb (/ahtam). ES 92. 2.1.14.*
- 83 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. mn. mh. (/mq.). ES 92-93. 2.1.15.*
- 84 ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. mn. sālem (e mosbaq). §§ 191-193. 2.1.16.*
- 85 ∪--- -∪--- *b. mozāreṣ e morabbaṣ e sālem (/mosbaq). ES 116. (11.1.08).*
- 86 ∪--- -∪--- ∪--- *b. mozāreṣ e ms. sālem (/mosbaq). ES 117. (11.1.12).*
- 87 ∪--- -∪--- ∪--- -∪--- *b. mozāreṣ e mn. sālem (/mosbaq). ES 117. (11.1.16).*
- ∪--- ---∪ ∪---∪ ∪--- *b. h. mn. sālem va axrab va makfūf va mh. (/mq.), p.v. 54.*
- ∪--- ---∪ ∪--- --- *b. h. mn. sālem os-sadr va axrab va sālem ol-hašv va ahazz oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 54.*
- ∪--- ---∪ -∪- *b. qarib e ms. e sālem va axrab va mh. (/mq.), p.v. 55.*
- ∪--- --- ∪---∪ ∪--- *b. h. mn. sālem va ahazz va makfūf va mh. (mq.), p.v. 57.*
- ∪--- --- ∪--- --- *b. h. mn. sālem va ahazz (e mosbaq), p.v. 57.*
- ∪--- --- ∪--- ∪--- *b. h. mn. sālem va moxannaq va axrab va mh. (/mq.), p.v. 54.*
- ∪--- --- --- --- *b. h. mn. sālem os-sadr va moxannaq ol-hašv va ahazz oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 54.*
- 88 -∪∪- ∪-∪- ∪-∪- *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), ES 110. (5.2.08/04).*
- 89 -∪∪- ∪-∪- ∪-∪- -∪∪- *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mx. ol-hašv. ES 111. (5.2.08/08).*

- 90 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mx. ol-hašv. ES 110. 5.2.12.*
- 91 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. va mx. (mozāl). §§ 250-251. 5.2.16.*
- 92 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mx. va mt. ol-hašv. ES 111. (5.2.12/04).*
- 93 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - *b. s. ms. mt. va mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf). ES 110. 5.2.11.*
 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mx. va maqtūʿ ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 91.*
- 94 - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - - *b. monsareh e morabbaʿ e mt. os-sadr va mx. oz-zarb el-maksūf (el-mouqūf). ES 110. 5.2.07*
- 95 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e morabbaʿ e mt. (mozāl). ES 99-100. 3.4.8.*
- 96 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. va mx. ol-hašv. ES 111. (5.2.04/12).*
 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. va mx. ol-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 96.*
- 97 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e morabbaʿ e mt. moraffal. ES 100. 3.4.9.*
- 98 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. (mozāl). ES 100. 3.4.12.*
- 99 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. moraffal. M 53, 1022, ES 100. 3.4.13.*
- 100 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. (mozāl). § 215. 3.4.16.*
- 101 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. ahazz (e mosbaq). ES 100. 3.4.14. (The example quoted by Elwell-Sutton consists of eleven long syllables. It could therefore equally well be considered a variation of 167).*
 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl). p.v. 100.*
- 102 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - *b. s. ms. mt. maksūf (/mouqūf). §§ 216-219. 3.4.11.*
- 103 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. s. ms. mt. moraffal (motavval). G III 344, ES 103-104. (4.4.05/08).*
- 104 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - - *b. badīl e بدیل ms. mt. (mosbaq). ES 103, 186. (4.4.05/07).*
- 105 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. s. ms. mt. as. (mosbaq). ES 100. 3.4.10.*
- 106 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. va mt. moraffal. M 3196. 3.4.09(2).*

- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. moraffal va mt. ol-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb el-moraffal*, p.v. 106.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 98.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb el moraffal*, p.v. 99.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. va maqtūš ol-hašv*, p.v. 100.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. moraffal va maqtūš ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb el-moraffal*, p.v. 106.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. va maqtūš ol-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 100.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. moraffal va maqtūš ol-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb el-moraffal*, p.v. 106.
- 107 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — *b. basit e morabbaš e mt. (mozāl)*, ES 103. 4.4.07.
- 108 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — *b. monsareh e ms. mt. (mozāl)*, ES 103. 4.4.12.
- 109 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. manhūr (/majdūš).* §§ 233-234. 4.4.13.
- 110 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. maksūf (/mouqūf).* ES 104. 4.4.15.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. va mt. maksūf (mouqūf) va mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) (or b. basit e mn. mt. va sālem (/mozāl) va mx. va sālem (/mozāl)),* p.v. 113.
- 111 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — *b. monsareh e ms. mt. ahazz (e mosbaq).* ES 103. 4.4.10.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — *b. monsareh e ms. mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūš oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 108.
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. os sadr va mt. va maqtūš ol-hašv va manhūr (/majdūš) oz-zarb*, p.v. 109.
- 112 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — — — *b. m. e morabbaš e mt. (mozāl).* ES 103. 4.4.08.
- 113 — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) (or b. basit e mn. mt. va sālem (/mozāl)).* §§ 235-236. 4.4.07(2).
- ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — — *b. monsareh e mn. mt. os-sadr va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) va maqtūš ol-hašv va maksūf (/mouqūf) oz-zarb (or b. basit e mn. mt. va sālem (/mozāl) va maqtūš va sālem (/mozāl)),* p.v. 113.

- 114 - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e morabbaʕ e moraffal e mt.* M 1280, 1362-1363, 2071, 2246, 3033-3036. ES 100. 3.4.5(02).
- 115 - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt.* M 1269, 3007. 3.4.05(4).
- ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūʕ oz-zarb, p.v. 115.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb va mt. va maqtūʕ ol-hašv, p.v. 115.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - - - - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. os-sadr va mt. va maqtūʕ ol-hašv va maqtūʕ oz-zarb, p.v. 115.*
- 116 - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - *vazn e āhū ye kūhī or b. salīm e سلم mn. mt. va sālem va mx. va ahazz e mx. §258. ES 177, 186. (7.2.2̇/3/1/2/2/2/2).*
- 117 - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - *b. basīt e mn. mt. va maqtūʕ (e mozāl).* ES 100. 3.4.6(2).
- ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz mn. e mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va maqtūʕ va mx. ol-hašv, p.v. 96.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va maqtūʕ va mx. ol-hašv va maqtūʕ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 96.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va maqtūʕ ol-hašv, p.v. 98.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb el moraffal va maqtūʕ ol-hašv, p.v. 99.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va maqtūʕ va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 100.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. va maqtūʕ (e mozāl), p.v. 100.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ - *b. s. ms. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb el-maksūf (/ -mouqūf) va maqtūʕ ol hašv, p.v. 102.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. s. ms. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb el-moraffal va maqtūʕ ol-hašv, p.v. 103.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ - - - *b. badīl e ms. mt. va maqtūʕ va sālem (/mosbaq), p.v. 104.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - - - - *b. rajaz e morabbaʕ e moraffal e mt. va maqtūʕ, p.v. 114.*
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb el-moraffal va maqtūʕ e moraffal va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 106.*

- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. va maqtūṣ e moraffal*,
 p.v. 106.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va maqtūṣ ol-hašv*
va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 98.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt.*
os-sadr va-z-zarb va maqtūṣ va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 115.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. va*
maqtūṣ, p.v. 115.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e ms. mt. os-sadr va maqtūṣ ol-hašv va-z-*
zarb el-moraffal, p.v. 99. Or (- ∪ ∪ - - - - -) *b. hasīt e mn.*
mt. os-sadr va maqtūṣ ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 117.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-*
mozāl) va maqtūṣ ol-hašv, p.v. 100.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va-z-zarb*
el-moraffal va maqtūṣ e moraffal va maqtūṣ ol-hašv, p.v. 106.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va maqtūṣ ol-hašv*
va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 100.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. os-*
sadr va-z-zarb va maqtūṣ ol-hašv, p.v. 115.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. mt. os-sadr va maqtūṣ e*
moraffal va maqtūṣ ol-hašv va maqtūṣ oz-zarb el-moraffal, p.v. 106.
- ∪ ∪ - - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e mt. os-sadr*
va maqtūṣ ol-hašv va-z-zarb, p.v. 115.
- 118 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - *b. x. mn. makfūṣ va mx. (mozāl) or*
b. moqtazab e mt. va mx. (mozāl), ES 117. (12.3.16).
- 119 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - *b. mošākel e morabbaṣ e makfūṣ e mh. (/mq.)*. ES 102.
 4.2.07.
- 120 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. mošākel e ms. makfūṣ e mh. (/mq.)*. ES 102.
 (4.2.07/04).
- 121 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. m. ms. marfūṣ e مرفوع mx. (mozāl)*. ES
 102. 4.2.11.
- 122 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. m. mn. marfūṣ e mx. mh. (/mq.)*. ES 102.
 4.2.14.
- 123 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - *b. m. mn. marfūṣ e mx. (mosbaq)*.
 ES 103. 4.2.15.
- ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. m. mn. marfūṣ os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va as.*
oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 122.

- 124 - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - *b. m. mn. marfūʿ va mx. (mosbaq)*. ES 103. 4.2.07(2).
- 125 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. moqtazab e morabbaʿ e mt. (mozāl)*, ES 108. 4.8.08.
- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - Irregular variation of 2. (Against § 152).
- 126 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - *b. moqtazab e ms. mt. maksūf (/mouqūf)*. ES 108. 4.8.11.
- 127 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. moqtazab e mn. mt. (mozāl)*. § 246.
H. 473, but compare 134 below. ES 108. 4.8.16.
- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. moqtazab e mn. mt. os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 127.
- 128 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - *b. rajaz e ms. marfūʿ e mx. (mozāl)*. ES 114. 6.2.11. Or (- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -) *b. r. ms. makfūf e mh. (/mq.)*.
- 129 - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. r. mn. makfūf va sālem (/mosbaq)*. ES 114. (6.2.08(2)).
- 130 - ∪ - ∪ - - - ∪ - *b. moqtazab e morabbaʿ e mt. va sālem (/mozāl)*. ES 112-113. 5.5.08.
- 131 - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. r. morabbaʿ e moraffal (/motavval) e makfūf*. ES 108. (4.8.05(2)). In M 238 this rhythm occurs as an irregular variation of 2.
- 132 - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - *b. r. mn. moraffal (/motavval) e makfūf*. ES 109. (4.8.05(4)).
- 133 - ∪ - ∪ - - - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - - - ∪ - *b. moqtazab e mn. mt. va sālem (/mozāl)*. ES 113. (5.5.08(2)).
- ∪ - ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. moqtazab e mn. mt. os-sadr va maqtūʿ va mt. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 127.
- 134 - ∪ - ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. h. mn. aštar va sālem (/mosbaq)*. H 473, ES 113. (5.5.07(2)). Or (- ∪ - ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - - -) *b. moqtazab e mn. mt. va maqtūʿ (e mozāl)*, p.v. 127.
- ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. madid e mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - - - *b. madid e mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - *b. r. ms. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-mh. (/el-mq.)*, p.v. 11.
- ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. r. ms. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 12.

- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-mh. (/el-mq.), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va majhūf oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 16.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — *b. jadīd e ms. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 17.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — *b. jadīd e mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-mh. (/el-mq.), p.v. 18.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — *b. jadīd e mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 18.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — | — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — *b. madīd e mn. sālem va mx. (mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — | — ∪ — — — — *b. madīd e mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va maqtūʕ oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — | — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — *b. r. mn. sālem va mx. (mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — | — ∪ — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. va sālem ol-hašv va mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — *b. r. ms. sālem va mx. va as. (e mosbaq), p.v. 11.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — *b. r. ms. sālem va mx va mošaʕʕas (e mosbaq), p.v. 12.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — *b. r. mn. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas va mx. mh. (/mq.), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — ∪ ∪ — — *b. r. mn. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas va mx. (mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas va majhūf (e mosbaq), p.v. 16.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas va as. (mosbaq), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — — — — — *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va mošaʕʕas oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 14.*

- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — *b. x. ms. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-mh. (/mq.), p.v. 20.*
- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — *b. x. ms. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 21.*
- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — *b. x. mn. sālem os-sadr va mx. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 22.*
- 135 — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — *b. x. ms. sālem va mx. va mh. (/mq.), ES 115. (9.3.11).*
- 136 — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — — *b. x. ms. sālem va mx. (va mosbaq). ES 115-116. (9.3.12).*
- 137 — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — *b. x. mn. sālem va mx. (mozāl). M 2260. (9.3.16).*
- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — *b. x. ms. sālem va mx. va as. (mosbaq), p.v. 20.*
- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — *b. x. ms. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas (e mosbaq), p.v. 21.*
- ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — ∪ — ∪ — *b. x. mn. sālem va mx. va mošaʕʕas va mx. (mosbaq), p.v. 22.*
- 138 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — *b. motadārek e ms. sālem (e mozāl). ES 91. 1.3.09.*
- 139 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — ∪ — *b. m. ms. marfūʕ va sālem va mx. (mozāl). ES 116. (9.8.11).*
- 140 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — *b. motadārek e mn. ahazz (e mozāl). § 190. Nīmā Yūšij: afsāne, ES 91. 1.3.10.*
- 141 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — *b. motadārek e mn. sālem (/mozāl). ES 91-92. 1.3.12.*
- 142 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — *b. mošākel e ms. mh. (/mq.). ES 116. (10.4.11).*
- 143 — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — *b. m. mn. marfūʕ va sālem (/mosbaq) or b. motadārek e mn. sālem va moraffal (/motavval). M 809, 1094, 1655, 2892. 1.3.07(2). (In divān e kabīr poems in this vazn are less correctly ranged as b. r. mh. va sālem (/mosbaq).)*
- 144 — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — *b. madīd e morabbaʕ e sālem. M 3197, ES 95. 2.4.07. (In divān e kabīr M 3197 is printed as mosamman, but the rhyme arrangement clearly shows it to be morabbaʕ.)*
- 145 — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — *b. r. morabbaʕ e sālem (/mosbaq). ES 95. 2.4.08.*
- 146 — ∪ — — — — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — — *b. madīd e mn. sālem (e mozāl). M. 237, 2086, 3109. 2.4.07(2). (M 3197 is a Greek molammaʕ exhibiting several irregular variations, e.g. — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ —, ∪ — ∪ — and — — — instead of — ∪ —. These have not been listed.)*

- 147 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - *b. r. ms. majhūf (e mosbaq)*. ES 95. 2.4.09.
- 148 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - ◡ - *b. r. ms. mh. (/mq.)*. §§ 201-203. 2.4.11.
- 149 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - ◡ - - *b. r. ms. sālem (e mosbaq)*. ES 95. 2.4.12.
- 150 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - ◡ - - - *b. r. mn. mh. (/mq.)*. §§ 199-200. 2.4.15.
- 151 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - ◡ - - - *b. r. mn. sālem (e mosbaq)*. § 198. 2.4.16.
- 152 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - ◡ - - - - *b. r. mn. as. (mosbaq)*. ES 95-96. 2.4.14 (sic!).
- 153 - ◡ - - - - ◡ - - - - - - ◡ - *b. jadīd e ms. sālem (e mosbaq)*. *al-moʿjam* 135. (11.8.4/8).
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - *b. madīd e mn. sālem os-sadr va maqtuʿ va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - - - *b. madīd e mn. sālem os-sadr va maqtūʿ va mx. ol-hašv va maqtūʿ oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 8.
- 154 - ◡ - - - - - - ◡ - *b. x. morabbaʿ e sālem (e mozāl)*. ES 117. 11.8.08.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ - ◡ - - ◡ ◡ - *b. m. mn. marfūʿ va mošaʿʿas va mx. va mx. mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 122.
- ◡ - - - - - ◡ - ◡ - - - - *b. m. mn. marfūʿ va mošaʿʿas va mx. va as. (mosbaq)*, p.v. 122.
- 155 - ◡ - - - - - - ◡ - - - - *b. motadārek e mn. sālem va maqtūʿ (e mozāl)*. ES 95. 2.4.05(2).
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - *b. r: ms. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 11.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - *b. r. ms. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. (mosbaq)*, p.v. 12.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - *b. r. mn. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. va mx. mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 13.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʿʿas va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl)*, p.v. 14.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. va majhūf (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 16.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. va as. (mosbaq)*, p.v. 13.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ ◡ - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. va mošaʿʿas (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 14.
- ◡ - - - - - - ◡ - ◡ - *b. jadīd e ms. sālem va mošaʿʿas va mx. (mozāl)*, p.v. 17.

- ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. jadīd e mn. sālem va mošaʕʕas va mx.
va mx. mh. (mq.), p.v. 18.*
- ∪ - - - - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. jadīd e mn. sālem va mošaʕʕas va mx.
va as. (mosbaq), p.v. 18.*
- ∪ - - - - | - ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - *b. madīd e mn. sālem va maqtūʕ va sālem
va mx. (mozāl), p.v. 8.*
- 156 - ∪ - - - - - ∪ - - - - - *b. madīd e mn. sālem va maqtūʕ (e mozāl).
M 1748, 3110. (8.2.6(2)).*
- ∪ - - - - - | - ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - - *b.r. mn. sālem va mošaʕʕas va sālem va
mx. (mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ - - - - - | - ∪ - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem va mošaʕʕas (e mosbaq),
p.v. 14.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - *b. r. ms. sālem va mošaʕʕas va as. (mosbaq),
p.v. 11.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - *b. r. ms. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv
va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 12.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - ∪ ∪ - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv
va mx. oz-zarb el-mh. (el-mq.), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - ∪ ∪ - - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-
hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv va
majhūf oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 16.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv
va as. oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 13.*
- ∪ - - - - - - - - *b. r. mn. sālem os-sadr va mošaʕʕas ol-hašv
va-z-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 14.*
- - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʕ os-sadr va mx.
ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1.*
- - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʕ os-sadr va-z-zarb
(el-mozāl) va mx. ol-hašv, p.v. 1.*
- 157 - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - *b. h. ms. axrab e maqbūz e majbūb (/ahtam).
ES 109. 5.1.09. This rhythm may well be considered p.v. 164,
cf. § 156.*
- 158 - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - *b. h. mn. axrab os-sadr va maqbūz ol-hašv
va sālem oz-zarb (el-mosbaq) ES 110. (5.1.09/6).*
- 159 - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - *b. h. ms. axrab e maqbūz e mh. (/mq.). §§ 252-253.
5.1.10.*

- R -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va maqbūz va makfūf va majbūb (/ahtam)*, p.v. 166.
- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va maqbūz va makfūf va mh. (mq.)*, p.v. 167. Cf. §260.
- 160 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va maqbūz va makfūf va sālem (/mosbaq)*. ES 110. (5.1.12/3).
- 161 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. ms. *axrab va maqbūz va sālem (/mosbaq)*. §254. 5.1.11.
- R -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va maqbūz va sālem va abtar (/azall)*, p.v. 166.
- 162 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. ms. *axrab e maqbūz e abtar (/azall)*, ES 109. 5.1.08.
- 163 -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. *morabbaʿ e axrab e mh. (mq.)*. ES 98. 3.3.06.
- 164 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. ms. *axrab e makfūf e majbūb (/ahtam)*. ES 98. 3.3.09. Cf. 157.
- 165 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. ms *axrab e makfūf e mh. (mq.)*. Saʿdī, *golestān*: از دست و زبان که برآید کز عهده شکرش بدر آید
az dast o zabān ē ke bar āyad | k az ʿohde ye šokraš be dar āyad. ES 98. 3.3.10.
- 166 R -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab e makfūf e majbūb (/ahtam)*. §§255-260. 3.3.13.
- 167 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab e makfūf e mh. (mq.)*. §§220-222. 3.3.14.
- 168 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab os-sadr va makfūf ol-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb*. ES 99. 3.3.15.
- 169 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. ms. *axrab os-sadr va makfūf ol-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb*. ES 98. 3.3.11.
- R -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va makfūf va sālem va abtar (/azall)*, p.v. 166.
- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va makfūf va sālem va ahazz (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 167.
- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. h. mn. *axrab va makfūf va sālem va moxannaq (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 168.
- 170 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. *qarib e ms. axrab e makfūf e mh. (mq.)*. §158, GI 2, 52, 192. (4.7.02/08). (In GI 2 and GI 52 this rhythm is an irregular variation of 55.
- 171 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- b. *qarib e mn. axrab e makfūf e majbūb (/ahtam)*. ES 107. (4.7.02/11).

- 172 -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- *b. qarīb e ms. axrab va makfūf va sālem (/mosbaq).*
§§ 241, 243, 245. ES 107. (4.7.02/09).
-- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- *b. qarīb e mn. axrab va makfūf va sālem va*
abtar (/azall), p.v. 171.
- 173 -- ∪ ∪ -- -- *b. h. morabbaʿ e axrab e sālem (/mosbaq).* ES 98. 3.3.07.
- 174 -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʿ va mx. (mozāl).*
M 241-242, 1749-1750, 2092-2096, 2252-2253, 3136-3138, 3202.
ES 98, 109. 3.3.05(2). This rhythm also occurs as p.v. 1.
- 175 -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. h. ms. axrab e majhūb (/ahtam).* ES 118. (13.1.09).
- 176 -- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. h. mn. axrab va mh. (/mq.).* ES 99.
3.3.06(2).
-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb*
(el-mozāl) va mx. va maqtūʿ ol-hašv, p.v. 1 and 174. Or (-- ∪
∪ -- -- --) b. h. ms. axrab va sālem va ahazz (e mosbaq), p.v. 165.
- R -- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. h. mn. axrab va sālem va axrab va majhūb*
(/ahtam), p.v. 166.
-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. h. mn. axrab va sālem va axrab va mh.*
(/mq.), p.v. 167.
- 177 -- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- -- *b. h. mn. axrab va sālem (/mosbaq).*
§§ 223-225. 3.3.07(2). This rhythm may also be p.v. 168.
-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- *b. h. ms. axrab va sālem va moxannaq (e mosbaq),*
p.v. 169.
- R -- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- -- *b. h. mn. axrab va sālem va moxannaq va abtar*
(azall), p.v. 166. Or (-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- --) b. h. mn. axrab va
mh. (/mq.) va axram va ahazz (e mosbaq), p.v. 176.
-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- -- *b. h. mn. axrab va sālem va moxannaq va ahazz*
(e mosbaq), p.v. 167.
-- ∪ ∪ -- -- -- -- -- *b. h. mn. axrab os-sadr va sālem va moxannaq*
ol-hašv va moxannaq oz-zarb (el-mosbaq), p.v. 168. Or b. h. mn.
axrab os-sadr va sālem va axram ol-hašv va moxannaq oz-zarb
(el-mosbaq), p.v. 177.
- 178 -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. basit e mn. sālem va mx. (mozāl),*
GI 272, S 680 (T -ari, dāni ce goft), M 3114-3115, ES 117.
(12.2.07(2)).
-- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. basit e mn. sālem va mx. va sālem va*
maqtūʿ (e mozāl), p.v. 178.
- 179 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʿ e morabbaʿ e axrab e mh. (/mq.).* ES 106.
4.7.06.

- 180 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e ms. axrab e makfūf e mh. (/mq.).*
ES 106. 4.7.10.
- 181 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab e makfūf e matmūs*
مطموس (/maslūx مسلوخ). ES 107. 4.7.12.
- 182 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab e makfūf e mh.*
(/mq.). §§237-238. 4.7.14.
- 183 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab os-sadr va makfūf*
ol-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb. ES 108. 4.7.15.
- 184 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- -- *b. mozāreʕ e ms. axrab va makfūf va sālem*
(/mosbaq). §239. ES 106-107. 4.7.11.
- 185 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e morabbaʕ e sālem va mx. (e mozāl).*
ES 106. 4.7.08.
- 186 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e mn. sālem va mx. (e mozāl).*
ES 108. (4.7.08(2)).
- 187 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- *b. mozāreʕ e morabbaʕ e axrab e sālem (e mosbaq).*
ES 106. 4.7.07.
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. r. mn. mošaʕʕas e makfūf va sālem va*
maškūl va mh. (mq.), permitted (or slightly irregular) variation
of 4.
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. r. mn. mošaʕʕas e makfūf va sālem va*
maškūl va sālem (/mosbaq). permitted (or slightly irregular)
variation of 5.
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- -- *b. r. mn. mošaʕʕas e makfūf va sālem va*
maškūl va as. (e mosbaq). permitted (or slightly irregular)
variation of 6.
- 188 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕe mn. axrab va mh. (/mq.).*
ES 107. 4.7.06(2).
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. mozāreʕ e ms. axrab e sālem e ahazz (e mosbaq),*
p.v. 180.
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab va sālem va axrab va*
matmūs (/maslūx), p.v. 181.
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab*
va sālem va axrab va mh. (mq.), p.v. 182. Or b. r. mn. mošaʕʕas
e makfūf va sālem va mošaʕʕas e makfūf va mh. (/mq.), permitted
(or slightly irregular) variation of 4.
- 189 -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. mozāreʕ e mn. axrab va sālem (/mosbaq).*
§240. 4.7.07(2). Or p.v. 183. Or *b. r. mn. mošaʕʕas e makfūf va*
sālem (/mosbaq), permitted (or slightly irregular) variation of 5.

- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. r. mn. moša^ḥas e makfūf va sālem va moša^ḥas e makfūf va as. (mosbaq). permitted (or slightly irregular) variation of 6.*
- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. mozāre^ḥ e ms. axrab va sālem va moxannaq (e mosbaq), p.v. 184.*
- 190 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e ms. sālem va mt. va mx. (mozāl). ES 113. (12.3.1/5/2/4).*
- 191 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. basit e morabba^ḥ e sālem (e mosbaq). ES 90. 1.2.07.*
- 192 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- *b. basit e ms. makhūl (e mozāl). ES 115. (9.2.10).*
- 193 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. m. ms. sālem os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va makfūf ol-hašv or b. monsareh e sālem os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. ol-hašv. ES 115. (9.2.12).*
- 194 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. m. morabba^ḥ e sālem (e mosbaq). ES 91. 1.2.08.*
- 195 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. motaqāreb e mn. al. mh. (/mq.). ES 91. 1.2.10.*
- 196 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. motaqāreb e mn. al. (mosbaq). ES 91. 1.2.11.*
- 197 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. basit e mn. sālem (e mozāl). ES 91. (10.3.14).*
- 198 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. m. mn. sālem (e mosbaq). ES 91. 1.2.08(2).*
- 199 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e morabba^ḥ e sālem (e mozāl). ES 93. 2.3.08.*
- 200 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. kāmel e ms. mozmar مضمّر os-sadr va-l-hašv va ahazz oz-zarb (el-mosbaq) or b. s. ms. maxbūl مخبؤل oz-zarb el-maksūf (/el-mouqūf). ES 118. (12.2.04/07).*
- 201 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. rajaz e morabba^ḥ e moraffal (/motavval). ES 93. 2.3.09.*
- 202 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. s. ms. mt. oz-zarb el-maksūf (/el-mouqūf). ES 116. (10.6.11).*
- 203 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e ms. sālem (/mozāl). ES 93. 2.3.12.*
- 204 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. rajaz e ms. moraffal (/motavval). ES 94. 2.3.13.*
- 205 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. rajaz e mn. ahazz (e mozāl). ES 94. 2.3.14.*
- 206 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e mn. sālem (e mozāl). §§ 205-206. 2.3.16.*
- 207 -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e sālem e esnā ḥašara roknan. M 1785. 2.3.24.*

- 208 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. rajaz e mn. sālem os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūṣ oz-zarb (el-mozāl). ES 94. 2.3.15.*
- 209 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. rajaz e ms. sālem os-sadr va-l-hašv va maqtūṣ oz-zarb (el-mozāl). ES 93. 2.3.11.*
- 210 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. rajaz e mn. sālem va moraffal (/motavval). E5 95. 2.3.9(2).*
- 211 -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. rajaz e morabbaṣ e sālem va maqtūṣ (e mozāl). ES 93. 2.3.07.*
- 212 -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. motaqāreb e mn. al. va sālem (mosbaq). §§ 184-188. 1.2.05(2).*
- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. basit e mn. sālem va maqtūṣ va sālem va mx. (mozāl), p.v. 178.*
- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- *b. basit e mn. sālem va maqtūṣ (e mozāl), p.v. 178.*
- 213 -- ∪ -- -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. rajaz e mn. sālem va maqtūṣ (e mozāl). ES 94. 2.3.07(2).*
- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūṣ va mx. va mt. va mx (mozāl), p.v. 91.*
- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ -- *b. s. ms. maqtūṣ va mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf), p.v. 93.*
- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūṣ va mx. (mozāl), p.v. 91.*
- 214 -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. basit e mn. ahazz os-sadr va sālem ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl) or (--- ∪ --- ∪ --- ∪ ∪ --) b. kabir e کبیر ms. mt. oz-zarb (el-mozāl). ES 118, 186. (12.5.1/4/7).*
- 215 -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. h. mn. axram os-sadr (va mosbaq oz-zarb). ES 93. 2.2.15.*
- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūṣ os-sadr va maqtūṣ va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1.*
- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūṣ os-sadr va mt. va mx. ol-hašv va mx. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 96.*
- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- -- -- *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūṣ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. va mx. ol-hašv, p.v. 96.*
- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūṣ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 98.*
- -- -- -- ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ -- -- *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūṣ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el moraffal (/motavval), p.v. 99.*

- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 100.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 100.*
- - - - - *b. s. ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-maksūf (/el-mouqūf), p.v. 102.*
- - - - - *b. s. ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb el-moraffal (/el-motavval), p.v. 103.*
- - - - - *b. badīl e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va sālem (/mosbaq) oz-zarb, p.v. 104.*
- -- - - - *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va maqtūʿ va mx. ol-hašv, p.v. 1.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. moraffal va mt. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb el-moraffal, p.v. 106.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb el-moraffal va mt. moraffal va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 106.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 98.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb el-moraffal va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 99.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ va mt. (mozāl), p.v. 100.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ va mt. moraffal, p.v. 106.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. va maqtūʿ ol-hašv, p.v. 100.*
- - - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb el-moraffal va mt. moraffal va maqtūʿ ol-hašv, p.v. 106.*
- - - - - *b. basīt e morabbaʿ e maqtūʿ va sālem (/mozāl), p.v. 107.*
- - - - - *b. monsareh e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 108.*
- - - - - *b. monsareh e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va manhūr (/majdūʿ) oz-zarb, p.v. 109.*
- - - - - *b. monsareh e mn. maqtūʿ va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) va mx. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) (or b. basīt e mn. maqtūʿ va sālem (/mozāl) va mx. va sālem (/mozāl), p.v. 113.*
- - - - - *b. h. ms. axram e aštar e mh. (/mq.), p.v. 159.*

Or (— — — — —) *b. monsareh e ms. maqtūṣ va mt. va ahazz (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 111.

R — — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va aštar va makfūf va majbūb (ahtam)*, p.v. 166.

— — — — — *b. h. ms. axram va aštar va sālem (/mosbaq)*, p.v. 161. Or (— — — — —) *b. monsareh e ms. maqtūṣ os-sadr va-z-zarb (el-mozāl) va mt. ol-hašv*, p.v. 108.

— — — — — *b. monsareh e mn. maqtūṣ va mt. va maqtūṣ va manhur (/majdūṣ)*, p.v. 109. Or (— — — — —) *b. h. mn. axram va aštar va sālem va abtar (/azall)*, p.v. 166.

— — — — — *b. monsareh e mn. maqtūṣ va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) va mt. va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) (or b. hasit e mn. maqtūṣ va sālem (/mozāl) va mt. va sālem (/mozāl))*, p.v. 113.

— — — — — *b. monsareh e mn. maqtūṣ va mt. maksūf (/mouqūf) (or b. hasit e mn. maqtūṣ va sālem (/mozāl))*, p.v. 113.

— — — — — *b. rajaz e morabbaṣ e moraffal e maqtūṣ va mt.*, p.v. 114. Or (— — — — —) *b. h. ms. axram va axrab va mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 165.

R — — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va makfūf va majbūb (/ahtam)*, p.v. 166.

— — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va makfūf va mh. (/mq.)*, p.v. 167.

— — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va makfūf va sālem (/mosbaq)*, p.v. 168.

— — — — — *b. h. ms. axram va axrab va sālem (/mosbaq)*, p.v. 169.

— — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e maqtūṣ os-sadr va mt. ol-hašv va-z-zarb*, p.v. 115.

— — — — — *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e maqtūṣ os-sadr va-z-zarb va mt. ol-hašv*, p.v. 115.

R — — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va sālem va abtar (/azall)*, p.v. 166.

— — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va sālem va ahazz (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 167.

— — — — — *b. h. mn. axram va axrab va sālem va moxannaq (e mosbaq)*, p.v. 168.

- - ∪ ∪ ----- - ∪ ∪ ----- *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e maqtūʿ*
va mt., p.v. 115.
- - ∪ ∪ ----- - ----- *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e maqtūʿ*
os-sadr va-z-zarb va mt. va maqtūʿ ol-hašv, p.v. 115.
- - ∪ - ∪ - *b. qarib e ms. axram va axrab va mh. (/mq.),*
p.v. 170 and irregular variation of 55.
- - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - *b. qarib e mn. axram va axrab va makfūf*
va majbūb (/ahtam), p.v. 171.
- - ∪ - ∪ - - *b. qarib e ms. axram va axrab va sālem (/mosbaq),*
p.v. 172.
- - ∪ - ∪ - - *b. qarib e mn. axram va axrab va sālem va*
ahtar (/azall), p.v. 171.
- - ∪ ∪ - *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʿ os sadr va-l-hašv va mx.*
oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 1 and 174.
- - ∪ ∪ - - *b. basit e mn. maqtūʿ os sadr va-z-zarb (el-*
mozāl) va maqtūʿ va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 117.
- - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va maqtūʿ*
va mx. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 96.
- - ∪ - ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb*
(el-mozāl) va maqtūʿ va mx. ol-hašv, p.v. 96.
- - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-l-hašv va mt.*
oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 98.
- - ∪ ∪ - - *b. rajaz e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-l-hašv va*
mt. moraffal oz-zarb, p.v. 99. Or (----- - ∪ ∪ - -) b. h. mn.
axram va ahazz (e mosbaq) va axrab va mh. (/mq.), p.v. 176.
- - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va maqtūʿ*
va mt. ol-hašv va mt. oz-zarb (el-mozāl), p.v. 100.
- - ∪ ∪ - - - *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-z-zarb*
(el-mozāl) va maqtūʿ va mt. ol-hašv, p.v. 100.
- - ∪ - *b. s. ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-l-hašv va mt. oz-zarb*
el-maksūf (/el-mouqūf), p.v. 102.
- - ∪ - ∪ - *b. s. ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-l-hašv va mt. oz-zarb*
el-moraffal (/el-motavval), p.v. 103.
- - ∪ - - *b. badil e ms. maqtūʿ os-sadr va-l-hašv va sālem*
oz-zarb el-mosbaq), p.v. 104.

216 ----- - - - - *b. motadārek e mn. maqtūʿ (e mozāl). M 2097,*
2418. (11.2.4(2)). Also p.v. 1 and 174. Or (----- - -) b. h.

- --- --- --- *b. rajaz e mn. maqtūʿ va maqtūʿ e
 moraffal, p.v. 106.*
- --- --- --- *b. rajaz e mn. moraffal e maqtūʿ,
 p.v. 115.*

KEY TO THE *BOHŪR* IN APPENDIX ONE

axir, see *mošākel*.

badil, 104.

basit, 107, 113, 117, 178, 191-192, 197, 214.

hazaj, 33-34, 38, 40-41, 52-54, 57, 77-84, 134, 157-169, 173, 175-177, 215-217.

jadid, 17-18, 153.

kabir, 214.

kāmel, 2, 3, 7, 200.

madid, 8, 144, 146, 156.

mojtass, 25-31, 44-45, 112, 121-124, 139, 143, 193-194, 198.

monsareh, 36-37, 39, 48, 94, 108-111, 113, 193.

moqtazab, 58-59, 125-127, 130, 133.

mošākel, 119-120, 142.

motadārek, 1, 138, 140-141, 155, 174, 216.

motaqāreb, 68-70, 72-75, 195-196, 212.

mozāreʿ, 49-50, 60-67, 85-87, 179-184, 187-189.

qarib قَرِيب, 32, 55-56, 170-172.

qarib غَرِيب, see *jadid*.

rajaz, 42-43, 46-47, 51, 88-92, 95-101, 106, 114-115, 128, 185-186, 190, 199,
201, 203, 211, 213, 216-217.

ramal, 4-6, 9-16, 129, 131-132, 145, 147-152.

salim, 116.

sariʿ, 35, 93, 102-103, 105, 200, 202.

tavil, 76.

vāfer, 24.

xafīf, 19-23, 118, 135-137, 154.

REFERENCE LIST OF SPELLINGS

The transcription used in this manual distinguishes all the Classical Persian phonemes and even indicates certain unphonemic niceties of pronunciation that are nevertheless prosodically significant, but graphemes with neither phonemic nor prosodical relevance are not distinguished. It is therefore not possible to tell the original spelling of words containing any of the letters *h*, *q*, *s*, *t*, *z* from the transcription.

The following list gives the spellings of all words containing any of these five letters except such as occur only once since all words are given in the Arabic script as well as in transcription at their first occurrence.

<i>abtar</i> ابتر	<i>Attār</i> عطار
<i>abyāt</i> ابیات	<i>Axavān e Sāles</i> اخوان ثالث
<i>afsāne</i> افسانه	<i>azall</i> ازل
<i>ahazz</i> احذ	<i>Azraqī</i> ازرقی
<i>Ahlī ye Širāzī</i> اهلی شیرازی	<i>Bābā Tāher</i> بابا طاهر
<i>Ahmad</i> احمد	<i>Bahāi</i> بهائی
<i>ahtam</i> اهتم	<i>bahr</i> بحر
<i>āhū ye kūhī</i> آهوی کوهی	<i>basīt</i> بسیط
<i>ʿarūz</i> عروض	<i>behešt</i> بهشت
<i>Asadī</i> اسدی	<i>beit</i> بیت
<i>aslam</i> ¹ اثم	<i>bohūr</i> بحور
<i>aslam</i> ¹ اصلم	<i>būstān</i> بوستان
<i>Āštiānī</i> آشتیانی	<i>Daqīqī</i> دقیق

1 In Appendix One اثم is abbreviated *al.* and اصلم is abbreviated *as.* In all other occurrences the Arab spelling has been added so as to keep the two homonyms distinct.

Dehlavī دهلوی	maksūf مکسوف
derāz دراز	malfūz ملفوظ
ebtedā ابتداء	manhūr منحور
Eqbāl اقبال	maqbūz مقبوض
eqbālnāme اقبالنامه	maqsūr مقصور
eskandarnāme اسکندرنامه	maqsūre مقصوره
esnā ʕašara roknan اثنا عشره رکنا	maqtūʕ مقطوع
Eʕtesāmī اعتصامی	maslūx مسلوخ
ezāfe اضافه	masnavī مثنوی
Ferdousī فردوسی	masnaviāt مثنویات
Forūqi فروغی	Masʕūd e Farzād مسعود فرزاد
Forūzānfar فروزانفر	matmūs مطموس
golestān گلستان	matvī مطوی
Hāfez حافظ	maxzan ol-asrār مخزن الاسرار
hamze همزه	mesrāʕ مصراع
hašavein حشوین	mojtass مجتث
hašt هشت	monsareh منسرح
hašv حشو	moqtazab مقتضب
hazaj هزج	mošaʕʕas مشعّث
Helāli هلالی	mosaddas مسدّس
Homāi همایی	mosamman مسمّن
Ilāhābādī اله آبادی	mosammāt مسمّط
Iqbāl اقبال	mosbaq مسبق
izāfā اضافه	Mostoufi مستوفی
kasre کسره	motadārek متدارک
kolliāt e šams کلیات شمس	motaharrek متحرک
kūtāh کوتاه	motaqāreb متقارب
mahzūf محذوف	motavval مطوّل
majhūf مححوف	mouqūf موقوف
majhūl مجهول	moxannaq مخنّق

<i>mozāl</i> مزال	<i>Salmān e Sāvejī</i> سلمان ساوجی
<i>mozāre</i> مضارع	<i>Šams</i> شمس
<i>mozmar</i> مضممر	<i>Sanā`ī</i> سنائی
<i>Nāser</i> ناصر	<i>sangīn</i> سنگین
<i>Nasīr od-Dīn e Tūsī</i> نصیر الدین طوسی	<i>sangīnī</i> سنگینی
<i>nazm</i> نظم	<i>šarafnāme</i> شرفنامه
<i>Nezāmī</i> نظامی	<i>sari</i> سریع
<i>nīm-fathe</i> نیم فتحه	<i>Saudā</i> سودا
<i>Ouhadī</i> اوحدی	<i>sekandarī</i> سکندری
<i>ouzān</i> اوزان	<i>Sirāj</i> سراج
<i>qarib</i> ² قریب	<i>Sīstānī</i> سیستانی
<i>qasā`ed</i> قصائد	<i>soxan</i> سخن
<i>qasīde</i> قصیده	<i>Tafazzolī</i> تفضلی
<i>qazal</i> غزل	<i>tarjīband</i> ترجیعبند
<i>qazaliāt</i> غزلیات	<i>tarkībband</i> ترکیببند
<i>Qanī</i> غنی	<i>tavīl</i> طویل
<i>Qazvīnī</i> قزوینی	<i>tayyebāt</i> طیبات
<i>Qeis</i> قیس	<i>vāsetat ol-ʿeqd</i> واسطه العقد
<i>qet</i> قطعه	<i>vāv e ʿatf</i> واو عطف
<i>Qozdārī</i> قزداری	<i>vazn</i> وزن
<i>rajaz</i> رجز	<i>xamse</i> خمسة
<i>Rezāī</i> رضائی	<i>Xāqānī</i> خاقانی
<i>Saʿdī</i> سعدی	<i>Xosrou</i> خسرو
<i>sadr</i> صدر	<i>yūsof</i> یوسف
<i>sadreīn</i> صدرین	<i>zafarnāme</i> ظفرنامه
<i>Safā, Z(abihollāh)</i> ذبیح الله صفا	<i>Zākānī</i> زاکانی
<i>šāhnāme</i> شاهنامه	<i>zarb</i> ضرب
<i>sālem</i> سالم	<i>zarbeīn</i> ضربین
<i>salīm</i> سلیم	<i>zoleixā</i> زلیخا

2 In order to avoid confusion *jadid* has been employed instead of *qarib* غریب. Cf. §244.

Ad § 27 In this paragraph it is stated that the *vazn e motaqāreb* "is probably the rhythm most frequently met with in Persian poetry". This is of course a perfectly subjective judgement. How often a particular reader meets with this or that rhythm, depends upon what type of poetry and which authors he reads. It is therefore not possible to say which rhythm is the one most frequently met with. One could have recourse to statistics. Elwell-Sutton (pp. 145-167) has an interesting *Statistical Survey of Use of Metres*. According to him the twelve commonest metres are:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|
| 1. | 4.1.15 | (<i>bahr e mojtass</i> §§ 228-229) |
| 2. | 4.7.14 | (<i>bahr e mozāreʿ</i> §§ 237-238) |
| 3. | 2.4.15 | (<i>bahr e ramal e mosamman</i> §§ 199-200) |
| 4. | 3.1.15 | (<i>bahr e ramal e maxbūn</i> §§ 211-212) |
| 5. | 4.5.11 | (<i>bahr e xafīf</i> §§ 230-232) |
| 6. | 2.1.16 | (<i>bahr e hazaj e mosamman</i> §§ 191-193) |
| 7. | 3.3.14 | (<i>bahr e hazaj e axrab e makfūf e mahzūf</i> §§ 220-222) |
| 8. | 2.1.11 | (<i>bahr e hazaj e mosaddas</i> §§ 194-196) |
| 9. | 2.4.11 | (<i>bahr e ramal e mosaddas</i> §§ 201-203) |
| 10. | 5.1.10 | (<i>bahr e hazaj e axrab e maqbūz e mahzūf</i> §§ 252-253) |
| 11. | 4.7.7(2) ¹ | (<i>bahr e mozāreʿ e axrab va sālem</i> § 240) |
| 12. | 1.1.11 | (<i>bahr e motaqāreb</i> §§ 178-183) |

It is seen that *vazn e motaqāreb* occupies only the twelfth position. According to Elwell-Sutton (p. 162) it accounts for only 1.9% of the total. However, in Elwell-Sutton's statistics a poem is a poem and length does not count. *šahnāme* does not carry more weight than any short *qazal*. Interesting though they be, these statistics cannot tell us which rhythm is most frequently met with. In a statistical analysis of the entire Persian poetic literature, counting the actual number of lines occurring of each rhythm, the *masnavi*-metres would certainly move up and *vazn e motaqāreb* would probably top the list, but this too would not decide which rhythm is the one most commonly met

¹ Elwell-Sutton has 4.7.15, obviously a misprint.

with, for in this analysis the 75000 *ahyāt* of Mostoufī's *zafarnāme* would outweigh the combined poetic production of Saʿdī, Hāfez and Moulavī, and *zafarnāme* is preserved only in a single manuscript, so it cannot be said to be commonly met with.

In this connection it would not be without interest to examine the relative frequency of the various metres occurring in works where prose is mixed with poetry, for in such works the poets seem to move more freely between the various metres than in other types of poetry. I have therefore made a counting of Saʿdī's *golestān*. Here *vazn e motaqāreb* stands fourth on the list, but this, too, cannot of course decide the question. The results of my counting are as follows:

Rhythm number in Appendix One	Elwell-Sutton's code-number	Number of poems	Total number of lines		
20	4.5.11	159	337		
80	2.1.11	77	163		
28	4.1.15	77	132		
73	1.1.11	70	111		
166	3.3.13	46	55		
182	4.7.14	30	56		
159	5.1.10	23	52		
13	3.1.15	23	39		
102	3.4.11	21	43		
148	2.4.11	17	37		
167	3.3.14	14	21		
150	2.4.15	8	11		
109	4.4.13	6	7		
11	3.1.11	4	8		
113	4.4.07(2)	4	7		
74	1.1.12	2	3		
84	2.1.16	2	2		
151	2.4.16	2	2		
178	12.2.07(2)	1	2		
Irregular rhythm:					
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	1	2
5	5.3.16	1	1		
14	3.1.16	1	1		

76	1.1.07(2)	1	1 ²
91	5.2.16	1	1
161	5.1.11	1	1
165	3.3.10	1	1
168	3.3.15	1	1
206	2.3.16	1	1

Ad §38e fn. 3 The explanation alluded to in the footnote explains *pīr e mard* as “vieillard mâle”, i.e. considers *pīr* a noun and *mard* an adjective. However, I think it can be shown that this explanation is incorrect: If we add the indefinite *ī* to *pīr mard* we get *pīr mard ī* (cf. *bozorg mard ī*), but if we add the indefinite *ī* to *pīr e mard* we may get *pīr ī mard* as well as *pīr e mard ī* (cf. *mard ī bozorg* and *mard e bozorg ī*). Now, in Classical Persian *پیر مردی* is quite common, but I do not remember that I have ever come across *پیری مرد*. Therefore the interpretation *pīr e mard* “vieillard mâle” can hardly be correct.

Ad §72 fn. 19 Hubert Darke quotes 24 examples of *-e_e*, and four examples of *-e_o*. I am not aware of any native tradition for the pronunciation of *-e_o*, but on the analogy of *-e_e* to be pronounced *-ei* (< *-a_i*) it would be reasonable to pronounce *-e_o* as *-ou* (< *-a_u*). Then he gives eight examples of *-ī_e*. Both in Classical and Modern Persian recitation this should be pronounced *-ī* (from Classical Persian *-ī_i* with final *-ī* shortened before *ezāfe*, cf. §89). Finally Hubert Darke gives two examples in which the *ezāfe* cannot possibly have been contracted with the preceding syllable, namely *sūxʾtan e kūh* to be scanned – ◡ – – (his no. 6) and *āxer e šab az* to be scanned – – ◡ – (his no. 12). In the last example we can certainly read *āxer šab* “late night” instead of *āxer e šab*. *sūxʾtan e kūh* is more difficult to explain. Probably the poet has here allowed the infinitive to take a direct object without *ezāfe* as a finite verb would do: *sūxʾtan kūh*. I therefore cannot agree with Hubert Darke in “supposing that in this single instance Classical Persian prosody allowed two light syllables to take the place of one heavy one”.

2 This is a *molammaʿ* with permitted variations following the rules of Arabic prosody.

Ad §92 In transcribing *miān* instead of *meyān* or *miyān* I follow Lazard (*miān*, Grammaire du persan contemporain, § 21) and Lambton (*mian*, Persian Vocabulary, Cambridge 1961, p. 162).

Ibidem That the Russian editor reads *auramazd* instead of *ūrmozd* is clear from the index to Vol. VIII, p. 8.

Ad §178 “The most well known...”. Cf. Ad §27 above.

Ad §187 One occasionally meets with poems in which some *abyāt* are doubled and others are not. Thus in M774 line 8072 is not doubled whereas line 8080 in the same poem certainly is doubled. (Most lines in this poem admit of both interpretations.)

Ad § 208 fn. 1 The *persicus* or as it is normally called *ionicus* (— — —) appears to be a foreign element in Greek prosody: “Die unmittelbare Folge zweier Longa innerhalb eines Metrums ist in der griechischen Metrik ohne Parallele, so daß die Vermutung, der Ursprung des Ionikus sei außerhalb des Griechischen zu suchen, naheliegt. ... Dieses Versmaß diene aber auch der Charakterisierung des Orientalisch-Fremdartigen, weshalb es besonders in den ‘Hiketiden’ und ‘Persern’ des Aischylos und den ‘Bakchen’ des

Euripides vorherrscht”³. It seems thus, that apart from the statement of the Alexandrian scholiast there is also internal Greek evidence which points to a Persian origin of this metre.

Ad §215 Professor Annemarie Schimmel suggests in a letter that the reason why this *vazn* is common in Moulavī and rare elsewhere “is probably that it is a typical dancing metre and therefore very fitting for poems recited during the whirling dance”.

Ad §231 *bahr e xafīf* is especially common in the type of poetry known as *qetʿe*. Typically more than a quarter of the verses in *golestān* are in this *vazn*.

Ad §251 fn. 4 The *beit* referred to is

سعدی خویش خوانیم پس بجفا برانیم
سفره اگر نمی دهی در بچه باز می کنی

Here the rhythm shows us that we must read *xʾāniam* “you call me” and *berāniam* “you chase me away” (not *xʾānim* and *berānim*).

Ad §260 It is interesting to note that the *fard* is much more common in *golestān* than the *robāʿi* proper. There are 37 instances of the former and only 9 of the latter.

Ad §320 fn. 51 The etymologically correct pronunciation of the obsolete کون, *kāu* or *kāuʾ* (cf. Old Hindi *kaḥū* and *kāḥū*), has been “lost” and native scholars nowadays pronounce it *kū*. This too is the pronunciation given in the glossary of Matthews and Shackle: *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, but the correct pronunciation is still found in John T. Platts: *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English*, from 1884.

3 Dietmar Korzeniewski: *Griechische Metrik*, pp. 116-118 (Darmstadt 1968).

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Prepared by Grethe Thiesen, cand. scient.

The references are to paragraphs. The list of *afāʕil* in §189 is not included in the index. *b.* stands for *bahr e*. In the alphabetical order *x* and *xʰ* are reckoned as one letter.

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